THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

THE COMPROMISE PALESTINE PROPOSAL WAS the more welcome because it came after many exhausting days of haggling and delay. It is a decent compromise, yielding just enough to American and Russian susceptibilities to prevent a breakdown. That the great rival powers could agree is itself more than two-thirds of the battle; indeed, we find it impossible to believe that any plan they jointly indorse will be lost in the Assembly. The British remain to be heard from, as we go to press; but little as they like partition, it seems probable that they will accept, however reluctantly, the limited obligations involved in the new proposal. British forces would be withdrawn by next May and meanwhile would act under the authority of the United Nations while a commission, appointed by the Assembly and responsible directly to the Security Council, carried out the partition plan. While this arrangement leaves the primary job of policing to the British, their government would no longer bear sole responsibility for the policy to be enforced. And by May 1 the militias created by the two new states would presumably take over, even though the transition period would continue until July. That this scheme involves risks, no one can deny. But at least it reduces British liabilities to a reasonable minimum. In our opinion, the plan should be amended to provide for a token U. N. enforcement body, contributed by member states, to give a truly international character to the task of implementation. Perhaps this idea can be incorporated in the subcommittee's proposal in the course of debate.

*

THE HARRIMAN COMMITTEE, APPOINTED TO "determine the limits within which the United States could safely and wisely extend aid to Western Europe," concludes its report by asking eloquently that we apply to the making of the peace the same spirit which triumphed in war. Unfortunately, the report itself is not altogether inspired by that spirit. The committee notes correctly that the size of a "prudent program" must correspond to the availability of commodities in this country and points out that many goods urgently needed for European reconstruction are in short supply here. That being the case, we should surely put first things first, as we did in the war, and give essential European needs priority over non-essential domestic needs. Conveyor belts for British coal mines and steel for French power stations should have precedence over conveyor belts for Montana gold mines or steel for Florida hotels. That calls for a strong allocation system, but the committee merely suggests that "the government will probably require authority to set up priorities" if voluntary measures prove inadequate. With so cautious an approach to the key problem of allocations, it is not surprising that the committee recommends a total for the whole program of $12 to $17 billion and a limit of $5¾ billion in the first year. These amounts are so much below the requirements of the stripped-down Paris program that they would necessitate drastic revision of Europe's plan for expanding its own production. Yet while recommending curtailment of American aid, the Harriman committee says sternly that, as a condition of continued assistance, participating countries must take all practicable steps to achieve the production goals they set for themselves at Paris. Does it hope for bricks without straw?

*

THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRAM OF AID to Europe will be supported in principle by a majority of Republicans, however much they may haggle over details and seek to whittle down the total bill. That fact has been made clear by statements of leading members of the G. O. P. in recent weeks, and Governor Dewey's speech at the *Forbes Magazine* dinner on October 5 provided the clinching proof. For Mr. Dewey, a man who never plunges into political waters until he has received a dozen expert reports on depth and temperature, came out quite strongly for the essence of the Marshall Plan. Naturally, his advocacy of aid to "freedom-loving peoples" was stated in terms of wholehearted condemnation of Russia—a safe line for any American politician these days—and was coupled with a number of sneers at the Truman Administration, including the strange accusation that it had given "aid and comfort to Communist conquest." However, New York's governor talked sense on at least one point. It would be a mistake, he said, to deny aid to countries attempting Socialist experiments. "In the free world," he added, "economic systems are not all alike. We do not share the Socialist ideas prevailing in some nations and we believe some of their programs to be affirmatively dangerous. . . . I am sure in my own mind that

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if those nations would restore initiative and free enterprise, their progress would be immediately accelerated. But we shall not achieve that result by lecturing from afar or withholding aid if they do not change their practices." We trust these views will prevail in Congress. Any attempt to barter aid against the abandonment of socialism in Europe would be an earth-shaking blunder.

*

SENATOR-ELECT JOHN C. STENNIS WILL probably never vote for an anti-lynching bill or for a Fair Employment Practices Commission, but he will look good in the Senate when we think of what might have been. Mississippi voters had a choice of six candidates to replace the late Mr. Bilbo. That statesman's attorney and political heir, Forrest Jackson, offered himself to the electorate as "the outstanding champion of white supremacy." Another contender ran an anti-labor campaign with side excursions to denounce the President's Committee on Civil Rights. A third promised that if elected he would fearlessly "stand on the Senate floor and tell Joe Stalin to go to hell." Then there was John Rankin, who, promising to "out-Bilbo Bilbo," offered the world the "Rankin plan," which calls for Europeans to "go back to work" and opposes "an international WPA to feed every lazy lout from Tokyo to Timbuctoo." Stennis himself virtuously avoided all mention of race and concentrated on proposed farm improvements for the people of his rural state. Last, and certainly least, was the state Republican Party in the person of L. R. Collins. We hope the people of Mississippi, who are said to be extremely sensitive to outside pressures, will not consider it indelicate of us to express our gratitude for their choice, the Senate being, after all, a national body.

*

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION CELEBRATED ITS thirtieth anniversary in an atmosphere of world crisis not unlike that which greeted its birth. Having survived a generation marked by civil war, foreign intervention, the rise of fascism, and World War II, the Soviet state quite naturally greeted itself with expressions of congratulation and confidence. But difficult years lie ahead. Inside Russia, the Five-Year Plan progresses, as Molotov pointed out, though not at an even pace. Heavy industry is advancing; other kinds of production are lagging in varying degrees. In agriculture, the damage inflicted by the 1946 drought has been compensated for by this year's excellent harvest, giving Soviet leaders an opportunity both to raise the bread ration at home and to make favorable trade deals with neighboring countries and even with the West. In foreign affairs, on the other hand, Russia seems to be retracing the rough road traveled thirty years ago. The history of 1917-20 offers many uncomfortable parallels with to-

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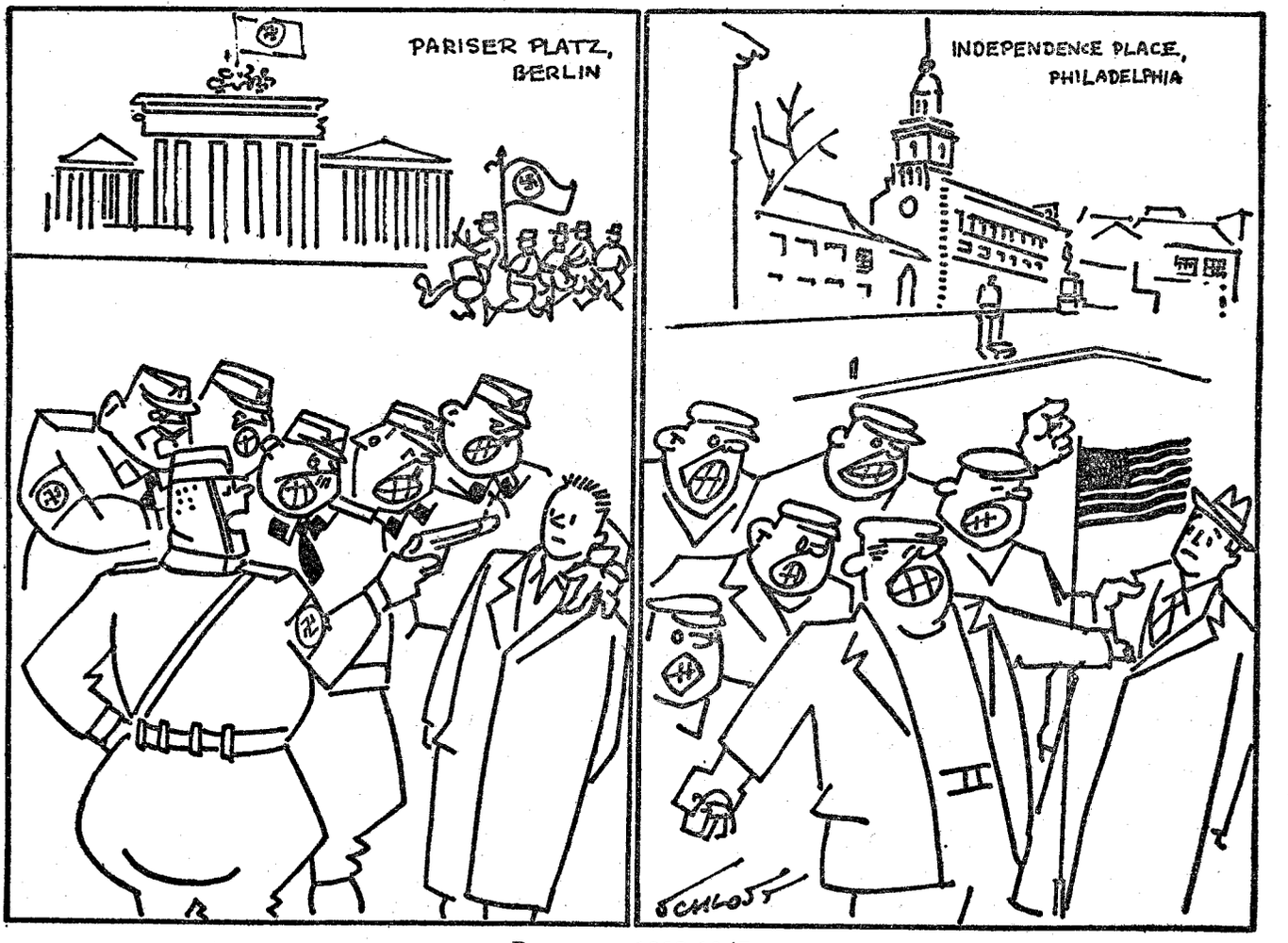
day's events, while some of the Soviet documents of that period—for instance, the famous letter from Chicherin to Wilson on October 24, 1918—are recalled, in all their vitriolic indignation, by Vishinsky's current recriminations at Lake Success. The tension that has developed between East and West can be relaxed only by an immense effort on both sides. The coming London conference of the foreign ministers provides a new chance for reasonable negotiation on the central issue arising out of the war—the treatment of Germany. If East and West can reach an agreement on that issue, the Soviet Union will have every reason to celebrate.

*

ANY DOUBTS ABOUT THE REAL MOTIVATION of the recent Washington investigation into communism in Hollywood, have been removed by the subsequent behavior of the Hearst press. As the climax to a series of ranting articles by Rupert Hughes of the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, the Hearst newspapers have now come out for federal censorship of motion pictures. In a front-page editorial appearing in the Hearst press on November 5, the argument is raised that since the film industry has refused to conduct a sweeping purge of employees, there is no recourse but to censor films. This proposal will not be surprising to those who have followed the activities of the Motion Picture Alliance, which was sponsored and godfathered by the Hearst press. From its inception in 1944, the Alliance has raised a constant hue and cry about "communism," thus providing the Thomas committee with a pretext for an investigation aimed at imposing a rigid censorship on the industry. Although warned that this was the real purpose of the committee, the industry at first refused to believe it and tried to make its peace with Thomas by indulging in some fancy red-baiting. But the Washington hearings apparently convinced the producers, at last, that a trap was being sprung; from this trap they managed to step back just in time. Momentarily defeated, Thomas will return to the attack, after first letting the Hearst press and his other allies work up a campaign for censorship. In the meantime, of course, the hearings have already imposed a large measure of self-censorship not only on the industry but on those who write, direct, and produce motion pictures.

*

IF FREDERICK H. ECKER READ THE PAPERS the day he got a medal at the Waldorf Astoria in New York, he must have noticed that the Committee on Civil Rights had just issued its brilliant report. Mr. Ecker, who is chairman of the board of Metropolitan



PROGRESS, 1932-1947

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Life, was awarded the medal for his "achievements in the field of better housing," which means for building Stuyvesant Town and other projects. But to honor this achievement is also to honor Jim Crow, as signs carried by pickets of the Joint Committee for Equality in Housing announced to passers-by on Park Avenue. Stuyvesant Town, which is tax exempt, and its adjunct, Peter Cooper Village, which is not, accept no colored tenants. Metropolitan frankly acknowledges its discriminatory policy; in fact, when Mr. Ecker received his medal he defended the practice as "a matter of business and economics." This, on the day the President's committee had specifically cited Metropolitan Life as violating the precept that "equality of opportunity to buy or rent should exist for every American"! Yet perhaps a little apprehension was mingled with Mr. Ecker's arrogance; the ceremony at the Waldorf really called for no defensive statement. Did his morning paper and a hundred rain-drenched pickets disturb him? We hope so. It is time Metropolitan Life began to worry about the public-relations effect of its ugly doctrine.

*

TWENTY-THREE NATIONS HAVE SIGNED A general trade agreement at Geneva which President Truman has hailed as "a landmark in the history of international relations." Never before, certainly, have trade barriers been attacked on so broad a front. The agreement includes a series of provisions barring or limiting such practices as discriminatory restrictions, exchange controls, internal taxes, customs methods, and so forth. Attached to it is a list of tariff concessions covering 45,000 different items which are included in 123 separate but interrelated bilateral agreements between 19 countries. Under the most-favored-nation clause, a concession made to any country applies to every other in the group. During more than six months of the Geneva conference, the toughest negotiations appear to have been those between the United States and Great Britain. We wanted substantial reductions in Empire preferences, and the British insisted on important cuts in American duties on both British and Commonwealth products. The detailed results of the bargaining will not be known until November 18, but meanwhile we note that Harold Wilson, president of the British Board of Trade, has been assuring critics that the agreement does not weaken "the economic cooperation of the Commonwealth." Simultaneously, Winthrop Brown, who signed the agreements on behalf of the United States, declared that none of the concessions made by this country will endanger the existence or seriously damage any American industry. Nevertheless, when the lists are published, we anticipate plenty of howls from interested parties in both countries, with the volume of sound in direct proportion to the value of the results achieved.

Trouble in Kashmir

A SERIES of swift and dramatic moves has brought Kashmir into an area of international significance. Events there call for a vigilant watch, since the state is today a buffer between India and Pakistan on one side, and China and the U. S. S. R. on the other.

The partition of India and the withdrawal of British authority have left Kashmir in an exceptionally difficult position. With its southern boundaries touching both India and Pakistan, a decision to join either dominion was not easy to make. The Maharajah—a Hindu prince in a predominantly Moslem state—felt encouraged by Hyderabad's example and played for time, in the hope, perhaps, that ultimately he could declare the complete independence of Kashmir.

Unfortunately, time would not wait. Internal unrest manifested itself early this summer, synchronized with the invasion of Kashmir by the Pathan tribes of the northwest through a strip of territory now under Pakistan's control. Frightened by the prospect of combined revolution and invasion, Kashmir appealed for assistance, first to Pakistan, then to the British, and finally to India. Nehru's government was under no obligation, political or moral, to rush aid to Kashmir since the state had refused to join the Indian dominion and the administration was reactionary, corrupt and oppressive. Moreover, Sheik Abdullah, the acknowledged Moslem leader of the national movement and a man of wide influence, was in prison as a political offender for demanding popular government.

With the crisis deepening every hour, the Maharajah hastily concluded a provisional agreement with India. First, he released Sheik Abdullah and installed him as Prime Minister. Second, he agreed that Kashmir should join the Indian union temporarily in return for military assistance to prevent invasion.

In agreeing to this course, Nehru's Cabinet seems to have been influenced by considerations of security. India could not afford to take any chances of Kashmir sinking into chaos and passing under foreign control. A second reason for intervention was the fear of serious repercussions in Hyderabad, largest of the princely territories, with a population of sixteen million, of which less than two million are Moslem. Had Kashmir been overrun by looting frontier tribesmen, Hindus might have taken retaliatory measures in Hyderabad, setting off civil war in a region of India hitherto comparatively free from strife.

For these reasons, intervention appeared to New Delhi to be necessary. It is a heartening sign that Hindu, Sikh, and Moslem volunteers have been parading the streets of Srinagar, the capital, calling for unity against the common enemy. Whatever may happen hereafter in Kashmir, autocracy will not be reestablished. Sheik Abdul-

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lah has been an intimate colleague of Nehru's for many years and may be expected to cooperate with the Indian government in strengthening the democratic basis of the new administration.

Accession to the union is only provisional. When the present emergency has passed, a plebiscite will be held to decide whether Kashmir shall join India or Pakistan. Meanwhile, Sheik Abdullah's assumption of power has had a stabilizing influence on Kashmir's population, and elements which would otherwise have joined the tribesmen are now rallying round the government. Nevertheless, there seems to be some uncertainty about the adequacy of forces at the Prime Minister's disposal. Snow has begun to fall in the higher regions of Kashmir and will soon cover the entire valley. Flying operations from New Delhi to Srinagar, the sole method of sending troops and supplies to the threatened capital, will become increasingly difficult with the advance of winter. The immediate tasks ahead of Kashmir's government are to protect Srinagar and disperse insurgent tribesmen.

Nehru has raised questions, awkward for Jinnah to answer, about these large bands of tribesmen marching through Pakistan into Kashmir. Why were they not stopped en route and turned back? Was Pakistan unable or unwilling to do so? And the more serious question: where did the tribesmen get their arms and equipment? If reports are correct, the brother of the Moslem Premier of the Northwest Frontier Province was among the leaders of the invading bands. Pakistan's attitude toward Kashmir has for many months been suspiciously hostile. Essential supplies like wheat, sugar, oil, and cloth, which must pass through Pakistan, have been withheld on flimsy excuses, causing dislocation of transport and serious inconvenience to the population.

Jinnah has accused the Indian government of "fraud and violence." Nehru, in answer, has cited these incidents as evidence of Pakistan's complicity in the disturbances. It is, however, possible that Jinnah's government is powerless to prevent tribal aggression through Pakistan. One must not overlook the fact that these border tribes, accustomed for decades to live on British subsidies, have suddenly found themselves deprived of their normal means of livelihood. If this explanation is right, a glance at the map of Pakistan reveals other danger spots. The Pathan tribes of the Northwestern Frontier Province and Waziristan have natural affinities with Afghanistan that are stronger than physical or political barriers. Will they drop away and establish an independent state or turn toward Afghanistan? Once the process of redrawing the map of this little-known region commences, it may go far.

Nehru's proposal of a U. N. commission seems, in the circumstances, timely and wise. Its establishment, before fresh complications set in, should facilitate the speedy return of peace in Kashmir.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

G. O. P. Ebb Tide

NO OFF-YEAR election, it seems, is so sparse or so inconclusive that a politician worth his salt cannot find in it something to "hail as an augury" of fantastic successes to come. If I were in the hail-and-augur business, I would rather be a Democrat this November than a Republican. Carroll Reece, who is in charge of such matters for the G. O. P., must have wriggled painfully to find in last week's results the inevitable "conclusive proof" that the American people approve his party's record in Congress.

Consider some of the material Mr. Reece had to work with. In Kentucky Democratic Representative Earle C. Clements was swept into the governorship in a landslide that ended four years of Republican control. Reece might have had an easier time minimizing the national implications of this overthrow if his own party had not pilloried Representative Clements throughout the campaign for having voted against the Taft-Hartley bill. Prices, too, were a major issue. When the returns were in, poor Reece was reduced to pointing out that Kentucky is usually Democratic after all, and that his party wasn't beaten as badly in 1947 as it had been in 1939 and 1935.

Indiana, which should logically be well up front in any visible Republican trend, must have disappointed the party chairman even more sorely. In spite of active support from Senator Capehart and House Majority Leader Halleck, local campaigns in that state went badly for the Republicans. They lost city-hall control in Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, Evansville, Muncie, and Terre Haute, and failed to wrest it from Democratic incumbents in South Bend and Gary. Hammond was the only sizable town in which they were successful. In Pennsylvania they lost mayors in such industrial centers as Allentown, Reading, and Erie, making their lone capture in Wilkes-Barre. They held on to Philadelphia's city machine, but since they have had a strangle-hold on that institution since 1884, their victory there was roughly comparable to a Roman Catholic sweep of the College of Cardinals.

It is in New York, however, that the Republicans appear to have had their sharpest setbacks. Upstate party strongholds like Niagara Falls and Schenectady elected Democratic mayors, and Erie County, apparently incensed over Governor Dewey's policy of permissive local taxation, ousted nine Republicans from the board of supervisors and gave Buffalo a Democratic City Council. The Republican boss of Erie County, unwilling

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to go through the expected gyrations, merely remarked to reporters, "There is nothing I have to say." In New York City the G. O. P. candidate for the Supreme Court, running with American Labor Party support, drew only half the G. O. P. votes that were given to a Republican candidate for the same office last year. And in the sole Congressional fight in the state the Republican contender not only lost, which was natural enough in a Democratic district, but trailed even the A. L. P. candidate. While I would not go so far as to characterize all this as a preview of 1948, or even as a definite Democratic trend, it is clear at the very least that last year's Republican rip tide is no longer running.

As for the election's effect on the chances of major candidates, it seems to me that only Dewey has lost ground. His chief claim to the Presidential nomination was the prospect that he would carry his own crucial state. To the extent that this prospect has been clouded by last week's spotty Republican performance, especially upstate, his chances have been weakened. And they are perhaps further diminished by the failure of Capehart and Halleck to produce victories in Indiana, both gentlemen being acknowledged backers of the Dewey campaign.

It is one of those entertaining little ironies of politics that to balance these setbacks in New York the Republicans are counting on the services of the American Labor Party, which they admire only slightly less than they do the Kremlin. Seizing on the successful effort to abolish proportional representation in New York's City Council, the Labor Party people have served solemn notice on the Democrats, who led what was in fact an unprincipled fight for P. R.'s repeal. "Tammany Hall and its allies," an A. L. P. spokesman warned, "have at long last succeeded in destroying the coalition between labor and the Democratic Party, so carefully nurtured and built by Franklin D. Roosevelt." No music could be sweeter to Republican ears, which detect in these words the promise that the G. O. P. will carry the state next year even if it should nominate J. Parnell Thomas for President. After all, the city's largest minority party, which has always gone Democratic in national elections, drew approximately 19 per cent of the city's vote last week.

The Liberal Party, gaining 57 per cent over its 1945 vote and accounting for 11 per cent of the city vote, is equally incensed over the abolition of P. R. But the story here is somewhat different. For the Liberals, as for most independent voters, a progressive Democratic platform in 1948, plus a vice-presidential candidate of stature, will doubtless wipe out the bitterness of the fight over P. R., although Liberal Party Chairman A. A. Berle has announced that his organization will press for another referendum next year. There is no breach between these two parties that cannot be healed for the purposes of a national election, especially since outstanding Democrats like Mayor O'Dwyer are known to have been privately sour on the anti-P. R. campaign. O'Dwyer's silence on the issue was as far as he could go without clashing head-on with his five county chairmen. Ed Flynn, the Bronx party boss, is fully aware of the dangers of a lasting strain, and has privately indicated that conciliatory gestures may be expected. The size of the independent vote, in Chicago as well as New York, should produce the necessary impetus. The A. L. P., however, with its strong Communist core, is probably beyond all wooing.

Political Void in Oregon

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Salem, Oregon, November 3

MOUNTAINS and mesas rise out of the uplands of the Fremont National Forest. The high plateaus are pocked with gorges. Few men would want to be over these wild solitudes in an airplane on a moonless night, with the ceiling closing down inexorably on the snowy summits. Yet the pilot thought he could make it and that by sun-up next morning they would be frying bacon and looking through the sights of their shotguns at geese from Canada in Warner Valley.

So the accident that people had speculated about ever since men in high office had taken to traveling by airplane actually happened. Forest rangers struggling through the timbered fastnesses for a day and a night on foot found the three highest public officials of their state dead at the base of a gnarled old Ponderosa pine, where the fluttering Beechcraft had finally crumpled between clouds and mountain.

Never before had the lives of the first three public men of a state been snuffed out at one stroke. The public was benumbed. It had not thought of any of the three dead men as great, but it had come to accept them and their personalities: Earl Snell, who had been twice elected governor by the most decisive margins in Oregon's annals; forty-one-year-old Bob Farrell, for five years the secretary of state; Marshall Cornet, big, jolly, and self-assured, the president of the state senate.

By a curious irony, the new governor, John H. Hall, the former speaker of the house, is one of the most unpopular men in the state, even with the Republican politicians, whose titular leader he has suddenly become. Try to imagine the complete unpreparedness among national politicians if death should reach so far into the United States government as to project John Snyder,

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overnight, into the Presidency. When the state's Republican leaders were attacking Hall for his alleged night-club, gambling-hall and race-track legal clients, they never thought that in a few weeks he would be occupying the gubernatorial chair. If any man seemed unlikely on his record to reach high office, it was Hall. In the legislature his pet bill had proposed to remove the double-recovery provision from an 1876 Oregon statute against gambling. The United States referee in bankruptcy characterized this measure as a gift to "the boys who run the gambling houses."

Hall was sworn in by his legal associate, Jay Bowerman, chief lobbyist for the dog-racing interests, which this year had a $12,438,416 "handle" at the greyhound tracks. This in itself was such an affront to the state Supreme Court that many of the justices, themselves ardent Republicans, fear their party is southbound in a hand-basket. Republican newspapers which had been denouncing Hall's legislative maneuvers are now called on to recognize him as head of the Republican Party in Oregon.

On the other side of the ledger, the political pressure is definitely off Oregon's famous liberal Republican, Senator Wayne L. Morse. Republican conservatives planned to oppose Morse in 1950 with Governor Snell. This threat was known to Morse, and it was not of small proportions. Snell never had been defeated in a political race. He had been elected secretary of state three times, governor twice. In 1942 he defeated the Democratic nominee by a five-to-one margin, a victory without duplicate in the history of the state. Now that Snell is dead, Morse has no dangerous adversary.

John G. Winant

BY LaRUE BROWN

ON JUNE 12, 1945, a great crowd assembled under the temporary roof of the Guildhall in London to witness the presentation of the freedom of the city to General Eisenhower. One by one the chief men of Britain came up the narrow aisle between the banks of less distinguished spectators to be received by the Lord Mayor and sheriffs waiting in the splendor of their traditional robes. They came in inverse order of rank—aldermen, masters of the City Companies, great figures of Parliament, ranking army and naval commanders, the Archbishop of Canterbury, members of the Cabinet, Clement Attlee, Winston Churchill. Well toward the end came the call, "the American Ambassador." There had been applause in various degrees for the others, but now there was a storm surpassed only by the greetings to the Prime Minister and to the General himself. The few Americans who were there were moved, as they had been moved before, by the demonstration of the deep affection of the English people for John G. Winant.

That affection stemmed from many causes. He had come to the island fortress at the hour when Britain stood alone. He had brought the promise, soon to be translated into acts, of the good-will and material assistance of the United States. He was the official representative of the great ally. All this made for warm cordiality toward the Ambassador. But the love for the man had deeper roots. He had shared the ordeal and the perils of the English people. Along with them he had defied the bombs and the rockets. He had, like so many, had the news that his son was "missing in action" and the later anxiety of knowing him to be a prisoner, and indeed a hostage, in the hands of vindictive captors, and had refused to bargain unworthily for his release. Beyond all this he had become a symbol of the hope of men for a better-ordered world.

More significant than his close friendship with Mr. Eden and Mr. Churchill was his relation to the clerks and the drivers and the doormen of the embassy staff. It is said that he was shy and diffident. It may be so. But no one who witnessed his chance meetings with these men and women in the corridors of the embassy, who saw the warm greeting and the friendly smile, who heard the word of interest and encouragement could fail to understand why he was loved.

He had much in common with Franklin Roosevelt, to whom he was so deeply devoted that he fled the celebration of V-E Day in London to spend the evening quietly with associates who were also friends of the dead President and to talk of what the day would have meant to F. D. R. had he been permitted to see it. Like Roosevelt, Winant did not achieve his great position by accident. Coming to New Hampshire a stranger, a rich man, a teacher in a fashionable boys' school, he became three times governor of that conservative state. To do so he overthrew the long invincible Moses machine and defeated no less formidable an opponent than the late Frank Knox. He succeeded because beneath his somewhat shy and simple bearing there lay courage and sincerity

LaRUE BROWN served for several years during the war as special representative in London of the Department of Justice and as assistant to the Ambassador.

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and an inflexible purpose to do his part toward achieving justice and security for the common man. He was always ready to risk and he did risk his career, when personal prudence would have dictated compromise, to lead in the struggle for these ends.

Few realized the burden he carried as ambassador. It included, in addition to such incidents of normal international relations as survived the impact of the war, intimate contact with practically every phase of the all-embracing conflict. Even those close to him in London had only glimpses of the complications and difficulties which filled his long and arduous days. As a single example, the mere presence in Britain of our huge army brought a series of trying problems which arose largely out of the relation of our military forces to the civilian public among whom they were stationed. To the solution of these problems, some of which assumed the status of substantial crises, the army itself and particularly the War Department lent only qualified assistance. That they were solved was chiefly due to the firmness and good sense of Mr. Winant and to his steadfast support of those under him charged with the actual working out of acceptable arrangements with the British government.

Only when his correspondence with Franklin Roosevelt is some day published shall we know how great was his responsibility and how great his contribution to victory. He alone knew the cost to himself.

Throughout the war there was ever in his mind what lay beyond victory. In his speech of June 6, 1942, to the miners at Durham, only now published in this country, he put into words much of the outlook on life which guided his whole career. In that speech he said: "We must solemnly resolve that in the future we will not tolerate the economic evils which breed poverty and war. . . . We are committed to a common objective tomorrow. We are committed to the establishment of service to democracy . . . We must keep it wide and vigorous, alive to need of whatever kind, always remembering that it is the things of the spirit that in the end prevail, that caring counts, that hope and faith count, and that without charity there can be nothing good. That daring to live dangerously, we are learning to live generously, and believing in the inherent goodness of man, we may meet the call to 'stride forward into the unknown with growing confidence'."

This was the faith of a great American.

Why I Broke with Chiang

BY GENERAL FENG YU-HSIANG

AS A plain Chinese soldier risen from the ranks, I have always cherished admiration for the great tradition of democracy in which the United States was established and in which it is now assuming world leadership. I am grateful therefore for this opportunity to speak to the American people through the pages of *The Nation*. As usual I will be frank. I hope the traditional American generosity of spirit will not take offense at a soldier's bluntness.

I wish first to make it clear that over 90 per cent of the Chinese people, all except a few reactionaries in the Kuomintang camp, are whole-heartedly for peace, democracy, and liberalism. Over 95 per cent of China's intellectuals are against the status quo in China. They have faith in the Three People's Principles enunciated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and want to put them into practice. In full accord with General Marshall, I believe that China's hope lies in these liberal and democratic elements.

To foreign observers these elements appear weak and unorganized, for Chiang Kai-shek's brutal terrorism is driving all opposition underground. Since I must protect my progressive Kuomintang comrades and other democratic groups, including the influential Democratic League, I cannot disclose their numbers or organization, but I can say that they are active in almost all the large cities of China. The people's forces, non-Communist, have been building up their power in more than forty counties in Southwest China. It is a shameless lie for Chiang to brand those whom he has persecuted as Communists. They are no more Communists than I am. As the terrorism, corruption, and inflation in China grow worse, which they are destined to do despite any amount of money Chiang may receive from abroad, the democratic forces will eventually break out into the open and bring about Chiang's downfall, just as the momentous political impact of the Three People's Principles overthrew the northern war lords in 1928. It is with Dr. Sun's spirit, therefore, that I face the task of fighting resolutely for peace and democracy in China.

FENG YU-HSIANG, the "Christian General," has been for many years the second most important military figure in China. He is also a leader of the progressive forces in the Kuomintang and last year broke with Chiang Kai-shek over the terrorism and corruption of the regime. He is now in the United States as chief of the Water Conservation Mission of the Chinese Republic, making a study of the TVA in order to draw up similar plans for the Yangtze.

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OUR two peoples, the Americans and the Chinese, have had a real, historical friendship. During our war of resistance against Japan the material help and moral encouragement we received from the United States aroused our deep gratitude. After V-J Day President Truman's statement on China and General Marshall's subsequent mission further convinced the Chinese people of America's good-will and democratic ideals. I realize that when the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference were violated by the reactionaries in my party,* the American people as well as the Chinese suffered great disillusionment. At this time full-fledged civil war had not started. It might have been prevented if the United States, instead of pouring billions of dollars into China, had then used its good offices to bring about a new agreement; if the United States had stayed out entirely—maintained absolute neutrality—the war would have petered out for lack of means. Weapons supplied to Chiang Kai-shek usually fell into the hands of the Communists. In effect, the United States armed both sides.

It is a matter of serious regret that more than three billion American dollars have been used in China to spread the fire of national destruction. And now a new effort to drive the United States into further intervention is reported in the American press. If it succeeds, both our nations will be plunged into an even sadder situation. A political loan of $1,350,000,000 to finance a three-year plan for China is suggested by William C. Bullitt in a recent article in *Life* magazine. The conditions of such a loan, which would include American control of China's financial, political, and military policies, have been widely discussed. But history shows that foreign money spent in intervention in Chinese political struggles is wasted; such intervention merely arouses the hatred of the Chinese people.

In 1918 the Japanese lent 500,000,000 yen to Tuan Chi-jui, leader of the northern war lords, to bolster the regime of his puppet, Hsu Shih-chang, then President of China, against the growing national movement led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thousands of Japanese military advisers were sent to Tuan's armies. Other advisers tried to bring efficiency to government departments. But the only result was a gigantic wave of Chinese protests and demonstrations, the first signals of the awakening National Revolution. In a few years the northern regime was overturned, and the money of the Japanese was lost.

To be quite frank, ever since V-J Day anti-American sentiment has been growing in China. My people have never ceased to struggle against their own "bad government." The people's movements in 1916 against Yuan Shih-kai and the Japanese and from 1918 on against Tuan Chi-jui, Chang Tso-lin, and the Japanese are fresh memories. Such nationalist upsurges are never manufactured by any one person or group. And no amount of force, from any quarter, can stop them.

MR. BULLITT'S proposal assumes that with American assistance the size of Chiang's army could be reduced and its efficiency increased. This has long been one of the reforms recommended by the Chinese. During the resistance war, in the summer of 1944, General Tang En-po was routed by the Japanese in Honan. His quick defeat and the deadly enmity his vanquished troops encountered among the local peasants, who disarmed them, alarmed the government. The people everywhere demanded army reforms. As a result, two decrees were issued—one announcing a reduction in the size of the army and the other increasing the pay of officers and men. Neither of these actually came to anything.

The strength of the army depends first of all upon the morale of the rank and file: they must be willing to fight. Chiang's soldiers are peasants who hate the civil war. They are collected by the village officials charged with enforcing the conscription order, and sent to the training centers roped and chained and half starved so that they will not be able to run away. Frequently new recruits are thrown into battle after hardly any training at all. Of course they make frantic attempts to desert. Passengers between Nanking and Shanghai often see them jump from the windows of fast-moving trains. No amount of money can make the Chinese peasant die for something he considers directly against his own interest.

Mr. Bullitt also shows his ignorance of China in suggesting the conscription of rich young men. The village officials are all and sundry in the service of the landlords, who control the countryside, and every rich young man who can be enticed into the army is immediately made an officer and seldom gets near the fighting. It would be idle to suggest that an American adviser could supervise recruiting in every Chinese village. The only way to win over the peasants is to carry out Dr. Sun's policy of "land to the tillers." But to all my suggestions on that subject Chiang has always turned a deaf ear.

In 1920, when I was commander of a brigade in Hunan, I saw with my own eyes the behavior of Tuan Chi-jui's troops, newly armed with rifles from Japan. They literally threw away their arms and ran when the revolutionary forces inspired by Dr. Sun Yat-sen advanced against them. I moved my forces south in 1926 to join Chiang, for I and all my officers and men were convinced that the government of the northern war lords must be destroyed. We were in a very bad situation. Often we had nothing to eat but plain rice soaked in salt water. But the zeal and high morale of the revolutionary army made possible the success of the northern campaign.

* Convocation of the National Assembly last winter was in contravention of agreements reached at the all-party Political Consultative Conference in the previous spring and caused the negotiations between the government and the Communists to be broken off.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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THROUGHOUT his years in power Chiang has never understood the secret of popular support. Like any northern war lord he believes in building up his own power. This is not the casual charge of an outsider but the conviction of one who has worked with him for twenty years. My close contact with him started in 1926. During the next three years he was the commander of the First Group Army and I the commander of the Second Group Army. Some grievance motivated him to order the execution of a general in his own Group Army. A mutiny followed, and he had to resign. As commander of the Second Group Army I was obliged to support him in order to insure the success of the revolution. I circulated a telegram upholding him, and he got back his command. I have worked at his side in the party and the government as well as in the army and know perfectly well his blind egoism and insistence on dictatorial power. He allows no criticism, no dissident idea. To my suggestions and advice, frequently carefully camouflaged in stories from old Chinese history, he has usually given outward approval in order to save my face. But he has never put them into practice.

Take, for instance, the army. It is a well-known fact that Chiang makes a distinction between his own troops in the Central Army and troops under other generals, the so-called "miscellaneous" armies. His criterion is not the quality of the soldiers but their commanders' personal loyalty to him. Troops which he does not consider his own loyal supporters, no matter how patriotic and well-disciplined, have received few supplies or replacements, while the Central Army has been steadily expanded and given the best equipment Chiang can afford.

During the war against Japan General Tang En-po, one of Chiang's most loyal henchmen, lost thousands of square miles in three weeks as the result of his corruption and his plundering of the villages. Instead of being punished, he continued to be favored. On the other hand, General Chang Chih-chung, one of the best of the nation's commanders, was always poorly supplied. In May, 1940, he held superior Japanese forces at bay in northern Hupeh, waiting for reinforcements which never came. He died in battle, a martyr to his country, on May 16, 1940. His forces were allowed to be destroyed simply because they were part of the miscellaneous armies. The pay in the miscellaneous armies was sometimes one-fifth that in the Central Army. The difference was deliberate—a method of building up personal power at the expense of the nation.

Mr. Bullitt imagines that American money will moderate the greed of Chiang Kai-shek's officials. Without repeating all the charges of deep-rooted corruption printed in both the Chinese and the American press, I will tell one simple story. In 1942 the official in charge of communications on the all-powerful Military Affairs Commission, a relative of Chiang's and like him a native of Feng Hwa, Chekiang Province, was proved to have sold about $17,000,000 (Chinese) worth of military rice and $10,000,000 (Chinese) worth of gasoline for his personal profit. American lend-lease supplies were involved, and the public cried for drastic action. Chiang Kai-shek thereupon used all his tactical talent to fool the public without hurting his underling. First, he ordered that the criminal be executed. Then telegrams from important military quarters demanded that the Generalissimo's order be annulled and the sentence changed to thirteen years' imprisonment. This evidently was still too much, for the thirteen years was changed to seven. The criminal was then invited to live in the mountain villa of another high official for his seven years of imprisonment. But this also was too uncomfortable; so two months later a telegram from the front brought the criminal to Chekiang Province, where he became the vice-commander of the Provincial Peace Preservation Corps. This public disgrace was countenanced by Chiang Kai-shek not only out of nepotism. The dominant reason was that Chiang himself has a number of expenses which cannot be put in the budget. The maintenance of the power of the secret police is one. Insuring the loyalty of his henchmen is another.

MORE American aid will simply increase Chiang's dictatorial power. At present all opposition to him within and outside the Kuomintang is trembling under his terrorism. Marshal Li Chi-shen, who wanted to reform the Kuomintang so that it could assume legitimate leadership in the country's affairs, was forced into exile and expelled from the party. General Yu Hsin-chin and his colleagues, who were of like mind, suffered a worse fate. Mme Sun Yat-sen is now living in Shanghai under close surveillance, not allowed to receive mail or friends freely. Members of the Democratic League are regarded as rebels: twenty Democratic League leaders were executed on October 7. Famous scholars like the economist, Ma Yin-chu, a Columbia man, and the archaeologist, Ku Mo-jo, are on the black list. About 30,000 men and women in three groups are slated to be wiped out.

Meanwhile ever since last spring, when nation-wide demonstrations against the civil war took place, professors and students have been dismissed from educational institutions. At the same time the reactionary San

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Min Chu I Youth Corps and the C. C. local party machines have maneuvered to get their members admitted into schools and colleges. During the recent autumn entrance examinations, for example, party officials who had been planted some time ago in four Peiping universities stole the examination questions and passed them on to their comrades so that a block of them could get into the student bodies and control them. The theft, however, was discovered by other little functionaries, who proceeded to sell the questions for money. The scandal raged in Peking for some weeks and was only quieted by pressure from high quarters. This systematic eradication of the liberal democratic movement is driving China into the fold of the Communists.

Chiang's regime is the culmination of all bad governments in China. No amount of foreign money can save it from downfall. The United States should stop all aid to Chiang, and exert its power for peace by giving support to the middle groups—both the Democratic League and the opposition within the Kuomintang. I know definitely that such aid would be effective now, but it will be unavailing later. The United States should realize that a corrupt minority, dependent on foreign support to maintain itself in power, is a poor ally.

The Catholic Church and Education

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

BIGOTRY once again is eating its way into the vital organs of the greatest nation on the face of the earth, our own beloved America," said Francis Cardinal Spellman at the last Fordham commencement. "Once again a crusade is being preached against the Catholic church in the United States . . . now it is the growth and expansion of Catholic education which is claimed to be a constant threat to the supremacy of public education in the United States."

It is true that there has been a tremendous revival of anti-Catholic feeling in the United States in recent months, and its focal point is unquestionably the educational policy of the church. But as Protestant leaders have been quick to point out in reply to Cardinal Spellman, the new anti-Catholic sentiment is not an offensive against the church as such but a broad defensive movement against a growing educational aggressiveness on the part of the hierarchy. The new opposition is not based upon the kind of bigotry which disgraced the country during the Al Smith campaign for the Presidency. It is strongest among the liberals who have always stood most courageously for personal tolerance.

What has caused this new opposition to Roman Catholic educational policy? The immediate occasion has been the extension of bus transportation at public expense to pupils of parochial schools in nineteen states and the fight of various Catholic lobbies in Washington against any federal aid to education in which parochial schools do not share. The federal-aid fight, particularly, has raised certain basic questions about Catholic education which most Americans had never faced before. Are the Roman Catholic schools worthy of national support? Are they democratic? Do they teach responsible freedom? Do they teach tolerance and national solidarity? Non-Catholics have a right to ask these questions not only because the Catholic schools are training some 3,000,000 future citizens in more than 8,000 tax-exempt institutions but because the people have accepted the Catholic schools as substitutes for public education under state compulsory-education laws.

Public schools in the United States are controlled democratically by local school boards whose members are either elected or appointed by elected officials. Public school buildings belong to the people of each district, and the people as voters have the final say as to their use. This democratic control of education is so well established in our tradition that it is taken for granted.

The Roman Catholic parochial school, however, is owned by a priest or bishop or by a corporation or board controlled by a priest or bishop. The Catholic people of a parish do not own a single brick in their churches or schools; they do not determine whether a school shall be built, and they have nothing to say about its continuation or its policies. All control of education is in the hands of the parish priest and his bishop, subject only to the veto of the Pope.

Nuns as Teachers

THE parish priest and the bishop may hire or fire any teacher in the Catholic school system with or without reason, throw out any textbook or course of study, and shut any building. "The pastor," says the Right Reverend

PAUL BLANSHARD attracted nation-wide attention by his exposure of Tammany graft while serving as head of New York City's Department of Investigations and Accounts under Mayor LaGuardia. During the war he was a State Department official assigned to the Caribbean, and he has recently brought out a book on that region, "Democracy and Unrest in the Caribbean." This is the last of three articles on the Roman Catholic church in medicine, sex, and education.

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John R. Hagan in "Vital Problems of Catholic Education" (Catholic University of America, p. 70), "is responsible by ecclesiastical law for the existence, maintenance, and conduct of the parish school. The religious superior [of the nuns and brothers] appoints the teaching staff and principal, and exercises over them a supervision which is at once religious and educational. The school board or the superintendent represents a third authority, namely, the bishop."

Below these priests and bishops in the Roman Catholic school system come the 77,000 teaching nuns who form more than 90 per cent of the teaching force in Catholic elementary schools in America. They are recruited as girls in their teens, largely by priests in the classrooms of the Catholic high schools, and are pledged to poverty, celibacy, and obedience for life. They live in the convents of their orders while they teach in the church's schools.

In the public schools teachers are reasonably free to marry and to live a life of intellectual freedom. The nuns of the Catholic schools never know the meaning of this type of freedom. Their thoughts, activities, and amusements are controlled by superiors who in turn are cut off from the cultural life of the non-Catholic community by the rules of their orders. Ordinarily the nuns are not free to read books, newspapers, or magazines of their own choice, to attend theaters or motion pictures, or to participate in any public amusements. Their carefully guided courses of training are pursued so far as possible within the Catholic educational system.

No matter how competent and devoted these nuns may be—and no one questions their industry—they do not acquire occupational tenure. They can be instantly removed as teachers or expelled from their religious orders for reasons which have no bearing on their competence as classroom teachers. Their superiors, in fact, in the convent and in the school are almost always the same persons, empowered to exercise discipline in any case of personal or intellectual insubordination. Nominal "teacher-training" courses are given in the convents, but even the shorter courses consist largely of theological indoctrination, and prospective teachers are never allowed to forget that their primary purpose in the classroom is the inculcation of the Roman Catholic faith.

This whole system of segregated schools under costumed religious teachers who are subject to the priests is almost ignored by the educational authorities of the various states. Because of the compulsory-education laws, "approving" agencies exist on the statute books in each state, but supervision of Roman Catholic schools scarcely goes beyond a perfunctory check on attendance. The most bizarre inequalities in teaching requirements exist within the closed Catholic system. Only fifteen states have any requirement whatever for certification of Catholic teachers, and only four enforce the same teaching requirements for parochial-school as for public-school teachers.

Parochial-school education is the cheapest in America, much cheaper even than Negro education in Mississippi. In 1944 Mississippi spent $42.25 per pupil; in 1937 the diocese of Indianapolis spent an average of $15.53 per pupil in five of its typical parochial schools, at a time when the corresponding expenditure in the public schools was $76.51. Roman Catholic parents who send their children to parochial schools frequently contribute only $1 a month per child to the school fund. The schools are able to operate on this financial level because the average teaching nun gets only $300 to $500 a year, paid in a lump sum to her religious order for her "keep," as against the $1,900 a year received by the average American teacher. Even the few male lay teachers in the Catholic school system are paid far below the average wage of the public schools for corresponding work.

No Intellectual Freedom

IN THESE Roman Catholic schools there is no academic freedom as non-Catholics understand the term, and no teaching of genuine religious freedom. The word "freedom" is constantly used, of course, but examination discloses it to be a semantic artifice meaning readiness to *receive* divine, that is, Catholic, revelation. Redden and Ryan in their standard Catholic work for teachers, "Freedom Through Education" (imprimatur Cardinal Spellman, p. 23), define the Catholic conception of freedom in unmistakable terms:

> Freedom to worship God implies in its correct meaning and application that every man should acknowledge God as his creator, submit to His divine rule and will, and through the proper use of faith and reason embrace the eternal truths which alone insure salvation. This is true freedom. It is opposed to that so-called "liberty of conscience" which a "seditious and rebellious mind," dominated by man's lower nature and blinded to truth and goodness, employs to undermine, overthrow, or destroy the infallible authority of religion to guide and direct all the individual's conduct in terms of the moral law.

Under this interpretation of "freedom" no teacher in a Roman Catholic school is free to disagree with the hierarchy on any social or religious policy which the hierarchy cares to include in its modicum of "eternal truths." As Father Wilfred M. Mallon, S. J., put it in his attack on the American Association of University Professors before the National Catholic Education Association in 1942 (*Bulletin*, p. 193):

> Freedom to teach what is true is without practical applicability unless we have a norm . . . the Catholic college norm must be not only natural knowledge but the deposit of divinely revealed truths immeasurably more certain than any truth arrived at by mere human

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deduction or experiment, because we have for them the guaranty of the infinite knowledge and veracity of God.

In view of the very nature and fundamental purpose of Catholic education, violations of Catholic doctrine, or of Catholic moral principles, or of the essential proprieties of Catholic life, on the campus or off the campus, render a man unfit for service in a Catholic college.

What does this priestly control of education mean in terms of intellectual freedom? The best answer is to list sample doctrines of the hierarchy which no teacher in the Catholic school system is free to challenge publicly without incurring penalties. I do not have the space to quote chapter and verse for each statement, but if a Catholic authority cares to challenge any one of them, I shall be glad to give my sources.

1. Franco is an eminent Christian statesman.
2. The Pope is the infallible leader of mankind, and when he speaks for the church in matters of faith and morals, he cannot make a mistake.
3. The Virgin Mary returned to the earth six times in one year and told three peasant children of Fatima, Portugal, how the Western world should handle Soviet Russia.
4. It is a grave sin for an American Catholic deliberately to join the Masons or Odd Fellows.
5. No good Catholic may positively and unconditionally approve of the policy of separation of church and state.
6. With a bow to Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas is the greatest philosopher of all time.
7. It is a sin to teach the evolution of man as a whole from animal life.
8. No Catholic has a moral right to secure a divorce even from a spouse who is syphilitic, insane, or an adulterous murderer; and any Catholic who separates from such a spouse and remarries is guilty of adultery.
9. The Reformation was a backward step in human history, and many of the worst evils of fascism and communism flow from it.
10. It is a grave sin for a Catholic to own or use a Protestant Bible.
11. The Pope is the head of a sovereign temporal power which has coequal rights with that of the government of the United States.
12. The rights of the church as educator are prior to and superior to the rights of the state as educator, and no government has the legal right to infringe upon this divine prerogative.

Campaign Against the Public Schools

IN FAIRNESS to the Roman Catholic *people* of the United States it should be pointed out that they have never approved of the doctrinal narrowness of Catholic education or of the idea of a segregated school system. The parochial-school system has been imposed upon them by the hierarchy at the point of a theological gun. When about a hundred years ago public schools replaced denominational schools for most American children, many Catholic parents wished to join the American community as equals in the public-school system. But Rome sharply rebuked them and laid down the flat rule that American Catholics must boycott American public schools wherever possible. This rule is now part of the canon law of the church. Although the hierarchy makes a great show of its official doctrine that the family has a primary right in educating the child, in practice no Catholic parent has a right to disagree with his priest on the subject of his child's education, on pain of the denial of absolution. The statutes of the diocese of Indianapolis on this subject are typical:

Where a Catholic parochial school exists, parents ordinarily violate the general canon law of the church (Canon 1374) if they send their children to public or non-Catholic schools. If they persist in this violation, they sin gravely and cannot be absolved until they make proper adjustment with the ordinary through the pastor (Statute 117).

In spite of these drastic penalties the majority of Catholic parents in the United States have never sent their children to Catholic schools, and since 1930 the proportion in attendance has not kept pace with the Catholic population. Catholic authorities are disturbed by this fact, and they are even more alarmed at the sharp decline of recruits for the teaching orders of sisters. The whole economic structure of Roman Catholic education would collapse if young Catholic girls could no longer be persuaded to take the veil. (Lay teachers, of course, would demand a decent living wage.) Recently a leading Catholic layman of Chicago declared that the Catholic schools can be saved from extinction only by a subsidy.

Naturally, there has been much grumbling among Roman Catholics about the separatism of a dual school system and its extra financial burden. In order to hold the people in line the hierarchy has felt obliged to conduct a continuous and bitter campaign against the public school. "Godless" is the mildest of the epithets which the anxious priests have used. Here are some quotations from a pamphlet issued by the America Press under the imprimatur of the late Cardinal Hayes—"May an American Oppose the Public School?" by Father Paul L. Blakely, S. J.

Our first duty to the public school is not to pay taxes for its maintenance. We pay that tax under protest; not because we admit an obligation in justice. Justice cannot oblige the support of a system which we are forbidden in conscience to use or a system which we conscientiously hold to be bad in its ultimate consequences. . . .

The first duty of every Catholic father to the public school is to keep his children out of it. . . . For the man

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who sends his children to the public school when he could obtain for them the blessings of a Catholic education is not a practicing Catholic, even though he goes to Mass every morning. . . .

Is a Catholic free to attend a non-Catholic college or university? The answer is that he is not free, since the only school, whether it be a kindergarten or a university, which is fit for a Catholic is the school that is Catholic in its principles, its aims, its programs, its teachers, and in its submission to the direction and supervision of the church. . . .

Efforts to Censor All Education

THE Roman Catholic hierarchy, in addition to controlling its own schools and colleges completely, also claims the right to censor all general education, and to effect this object encourages Catholics to control local boards of education where possible and to place Catholics in key positions as teachers and officials in the public-school system. For these Catholics in the public-school system the hierarchy lays down rules in the moral manuals almost as detailed as the rules for parochial teachers. They are directed to stand for the superiority of the church school even while they are teaching in the public school, and in discussing civic affairs with pupils they are "expected to make a statement on such matters as divorce, euthanasia, birth control," and kindred subjects. "She [the Catholic teacher in the public school] must not speak in such wise as to give the impression that all forms of religious belief possess a natural right to exist and to propagate. Only the true religion possesses such a natural right" (Father Francis J. Connell, "Morals in Politics and Professions," imprimatur Archbishop of Baltimore-Washington, p. 156). Father Connell, who is associate professor of moral theology at the Catholic University of America, adds that a Catholic teacher in a public school may start the Lord's Prayer for the little Protestant children when it is customary, but she must stop with the phrase "Deliver us from evil" and not say "For thine is the kingdom" etc. If she adds this latter phrase, it is a sin, for "in practice these words have taken on a Protestant connotation" (ibid, p. 158).

The hierarchy has not been successful in capturing many parts of the American public-school system. It is true that three states—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin—have Catholic directors of state education, and in many cities, such as Boston, Providence, Buffalo, and San Francisco, the city superintendents are Catholics. But the majority of Catholic public-school teachers in the National Education Association refuse to follow the dictates of the hierarchy in educational matters, and when Catholics attempt to make taxpayers support parochial schools as part of the public-school system, as they did in the famous North College Hill battle near Cincinnati last spring, they usually meet prompt defeat.

When the Supreme Court by a five-to-four vote last February allowed the state of New Jersey to charge the costs of parochial-school transportation to the taxpayers, the battle lines were drawn for a much larger conflict, of which the bus fight was only a preliminary skirmish. In the hierarchy's briefs and the public discussions of this New Jersey bus situation, and of federal aid, it became evident that the Catholic plan for educational expansion in this country consists of three steps: (1) immediate appropriations for auxiliary services for parochial schools, (2) complete support of all parochial schools by public funds, as in Ontario, England, and the Netherlands, (3) eventual establishment of Catholicism in all public classrooms, as in Spain and Italy.

But the New Jersey bus decision was actually a major defeat for this plan in spite of its temporary financial gain. Both the majority and the minority of the court made ringing declarations in favor of the doctrine of the separation of church and state. It was clear that in the eyes of the court this particular exception of bus service was a very special exception to a general principle, and that there was no hope of *direct* support for parochial schools under the First Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibits any "establishment of religion."

Accordingly, the church's only hope for securing desperately needed federal funds for its schools is the development of some device for *indirect* appropriations which would by-pass the provisions in most state constitutions and statutes prohibiting public expenditures for parochial schools. The precedent for such a device is the Louisiana textbook (Cochran) case, in which the Supreme Court permitted textbooks to be given by the state to parochial students not as contributions to the Catholic school system but as personal awards of service to students.

Meanwhile the conflict in the coming session of Congress will center about the Aiken bill for federal aid, which would open the door for direct federal appropriations to parochial schools in states where such aid is now refused, and the Taft bill, which would permit parochial schools to get federal funds only in the proportion in which they now receive public money from the states. For once liberal educators of the country are solidly backing Mr. Taft. Their reasons have never been summarized more pointedly than by John Dewey:

> It is essential that this basic issue be seen for what it is—namely, as the encouragement of a powerful reactionary world organization in the most vital realm of democratic life with the resulting promulgation of principles inimical to democracy. We cannot deny that public education needs federal aid in order to equalize opportunity between state and state and between individual and individual. But it would be a poor bargain indeed to gain material aid at the expense of losing our greatest intellectual and moral heritage.

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Pattern for Union-Busting

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, November 8

IN THE wintry Taft-Hartley months which lie ahead there is likely to be a wake whenever two or three union organizers are gathered together. They will be mourning not only Johnny Green and his shipyard workers but the United States labor movement, which didn't know what was hitting it until all was over this week.

The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, standing virtually alone, had staked nineteen strike weeks and nearly $300,000 in a gamble for peace-time survival. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation took almost the whole pot in this cruelly uneven industrial contest.

The shipyard strike, the longest major walkout since the war, cut into an industry which presumably is vital to reconstruction. It took place during the first test months of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, which was supposed to resolve such domestic troubles with peace and justice for all. The issue was basic—the right of a union to stay alive. Yet, curiously, the strike got few headlines, and these were usually mixed with arrival-and-departure shipping news on the next to the last page of the New York *Times*. Perhaps the subdued despair of strikers in East and West Coast yards did not make lively copy. More curiously still, the mass of labor itself, not to mention the White House and Administration agencies, seemed indifferent; perhaps the proper wording of resolutions lamenting the Taft-Hartley act took precedence over such dreary union business as picket lines and soup kitchens.

At any rate, a key chapter in labor-management history was ready for the book when Bethlehem and the groggy shipbuilders' union prepared to initial it in the daily and sometimes nightly negotiations which started in Washington on October 27. The union's surrender was nearly unconditional. The terms were dictated by Bethlehem, whose Eugene Gifford Grace is the spiritual as well as managerial heir of the late Charles M. Schwab, famed for his part in the Battle of Homestead in 1892. The company was represented in the conference room by D. C. Mills, manager of industrial relations, who sat with a copy of the Taft-Hartley act before him. John Green, the president of the Shipbuilding Workers, came out of the room alive and cocky but limping from the merciless kicking around. It had long been apparent to him that there was going to be no triumph for the union, that a decent settlement was the best it could expect. This was worse; this was close to disaster for a union which had been 500,000 strong during the war, and it was ominous for all of organized labor.

After 135 days—the 117-day General Motors strike in 1945-46 set the previous post-war record—on picket lines and meager relief rations, what were left of some 30,000 strikers at ten Bethlehem shipyards would now go back to work under a contract which in many important respects was worse than the one they had before the company precipitated the walkout at midnight of June 25. They had lost hard-won and valued over-time, grievance, and seniority rights, which were among the chief issues of the strike. There was a general 12-cent wage raise in the contract package scornfully tossed to the strikers, and this did represent a grudging concession. Bethlehem at first confined the raise to hourly-paid workers, cutting off incentive and peace workers, the core of the union.

The intermediary in this situation was the Conciliation Service, facing its first challenging assignment since it set up business as an independent pacifying agency under the Taft-Hartley act. If anything, its representative, Assistant Director William N. Margolis, contributed to the pacification of the union by Bethlehem. But at least it took an interest, however belated, in the strike, which at its peak tied up some 67,000 men and over 70 ships.

At the outset, after Bethlehem had made it plain that its post-war concept of collective bargaining was the unilateral imposition of conditions of employment on the union, the Shipbuilding Workers hoped for intervention by President Truman, the Maritime Commission, and the navy. The President failed to acknowledge letters in July and August from John Green, who argued that "the responsibility for the occurrence of this uncalled-for and tragic strike rested, first, with the employers and, second, with the various governmental agencies concerned with this industry." The White House let it be understood that Mr. Truman didn't want to get mixed up with the strike; nor did the agencies.

THE strike was essentially for the continuation of war-time conditions, plus a nominal cost-of-living wage adjustment. At first it took in nineteen yards on the East and Gulf coasts. Relatively favorable agreements were quickly worked out with fringe companies. Bethlehem, however, stood fast for depressive settlements with the union at Baltimore, where it has three yards; at Quincy and East Boston; at New York, where it has

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four yards in a wide harbor area, and at Terminal Island, San Pedro, California. United States Steel's shipyard at Kearny, New Jersey, also held out, waiting for Bethlehem's pitch. And still unsettled were fringe issues at San Pedro and the Patapsco yard at Baltimore.

Bethlehem lost shipside money in the contest, but it could easily afford it in view of the end gains it expected. Not even in war time, when it set a record in 1945 of 857,511 tons of steel production, had its business been so good. In October, running its steel mills 102 per cent of capacity, Bethlehem smashed all delivery records with 879,285 net tons of rolled steel and other finished products. Net Bethlehem income for the first nine months of 1947 was $38,710,728. In the similar period of 1946 it was $29,794,650. Ship construction, conversion, repair, and scrapping—much of it under government contract—could wait while Bethlehem trimmed the C. I. O. down to a pliable size.

As a result of its success Eugene Grace will unquestionably be a large factor, next spring, in pattern-making wage negotiations with C. I. O. President Philip Murray's United Steelworkers. In the past Benjamin F. Fairless of United States Steel has told the industry how to appease the C. I. O. Now Grace has won the right to show the industry how to defeat the C. I. O.

Murray finally woke up to this prospect, but very late. He reported to the Boston convention of the C. I. O. in October, when a strong resolution of support for the shipyard strikers was adopted, that the Steelworkers had kicked in $25,000 for Johnny Green's men. In varying amounts from $2,000 to $5,000 the United Automobile Workers, the Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers also came through. But even this help didn't go far in a struggle which was costing the suffering union at least $40,000 a week.

In Baltimore the city C. I. O. council gave a remarkable demonstration of lack of interest. The anti-Communist leadership of the Shipbuilding Workers had been in ideological disagreement with the council, which in return virtually ignored the shipyard fight. Harry Lundeberg's A. F. of L. Seafarers and Joe Curran's sailors, however, worked for the strike in off hours.

The corporation naturally swings a lot of economic and social weight in Baltimore, which perversely prides itself on its gas street lamps, cobblestone streets, and white marble doorsteps in front of slum houses where many shipyard workers live. Thus there was no relief aid from most community-fund agencies. Nor was there any state unemployment compensation. Many strikers who tried to get part-time jobs while waiting out the walkout found they had been blacklisted. Medical fees in maternity cases were demanded in advance until the Baltimore chapter of Americans for Democratic Action, under Dr. Frank F. Furstenberg, organized a pool of fifty-seven physicians for emergency help.

BETHLEHEM opened up its active strike-breaking campaign about two months after the walkout started. By-passing the union, which had been unable to get management to sit down with it at a bargaining table, Vice-President W. H. Collins mailed out letters to some 8,500 strikers denying that the company was "out to break the union" and suggesting that hourly paid workers come back and pick up a 12-cent raise. In September printed copies of company contract proposals—concealing various jokers—were circulated to make the union leaders look unreasonable. At about the same time a tide of arrests swept through the picket lines. It was disorderly conduct, for instance, for a striker to loiter with a cup of coffee on the steps of a diner across the street from a yard gate. (At the Sparrows Point yard, seven miles outside the city, Bethlehem operates a company town, complete with two-family privies and a private constabulary organized along the lines of Pennsylvania's old-time coal-and-iron police. There the police magistrate doubles as a yard foreman.)

"Wanted at Once" employment ads blossomed out in the Baltimore *Sun*. The Personnel Center in the Tower Building sought marine pipefitters and electricians, and no agency fee was required of applicants. The union sent men around to find out about these jobs. Sure enough, the Personnel Center gave them cards to the Bethlehem Steel Corporation at its Key Highway yard. Bethlehem scoured the city, rounding up men who had never seen a shipyard before but could be enticed into the gates by assurances that they would be paid—with time and a half for week-ends on a seven-day schedule—whether they were able to do any yard work or not. Many of these recruits were Negroes—a circumstance which couldn't have been better calculated by the company to create and store up racial resentments for many years to come.

Persuasive foremen methodically started dropping in at the homes of their striking union friends to talk with the wife and kids after supper on Sundays. Their topic was that the strike couldn't go on forever, times certainly were tough, a lot of other guys were going back while the going was good, and it wasn't smart to play a sucker when there was plenty of time and a half to be had. By the end of October strike ranks had been cracked by this back-to-work maneuver. It only took a few thousand men, pouring in and out of the gates at shift-change time, to kick picket-line morale to pieces.

It will be a long time before the Shipbuilding Workers recover from all this. They remember with pride that they set records building liberty ships during the war, and they will remember with bitterness that a grateful government stood by while the company forced them to set another kind of record in peace time. Other groups in organized labor are likely to taste that bitterness, too: the loss of a major strike has a spreading tendency.

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Notes from Lake Success

By J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, November 8

PERHAPS the high point of United Nations achievement to date was registered at a press conference last Wednesday at Lake Success. Dr. Brock Chisholm, executive secretary of the World Health Organization, gave an account of how the world's medical resources had been mobilized by his organization to combat the cholera outbreak in Egypt. More than four million cubic centimeters of anti-cholera vaccine—enough to inoculate one in every six persons in Egypt—had been shipped in and a million more sent to Saudi Arabia and Syria as a preventive measure. Other urgently needed medical supplies had also been sent and vast quantities of vaccine set aside for future use.

It is astonishing to see how technically advanced we are, how efficient is our cooperation, when the plague is in men's bodies and not in their minds. Perhaps we had better give the W. H. O. a greater role in the battle for peace as well as in the battle for health.

THE adoption of the modified Little Assembly proposal—with the subsequent announcement of a Slav-state boycott—emphasizes a trend which is becoming increasingly well defined. The original Marshall statement made it quite clear that the United States was determined that the Assembly's prestige should be built up to compensate for the impotence of the Security Council. The Balkan, Korean, and Little Assembly proposals must therefore be taken together as means for accomplishing this objective. In at least two of these American proposals small-nation pressure produced revisions which in the opinion of the majority brought them within the scope of the Charter.

All who followed the strenuous debates in the subcommittee hammering out the terms of reference of the Little Assembly and who noted the tougher line being urged by the delegates from Australia and Argentina were aware that the forces of moderation had won a substantial victory. The Little Assembly, placed firmly in subordination to the General Assembly and seriously limited as to the matters it may discuss or investigate, is now a very little assembly indeed.

To the Russians, however—and this was brought out clearly in Mr. Vishinsky's speech just before the vote was taken—these modifications added up to nothing. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan—no distinction is made in regard to their capitalist-imperialist objectives—are the political realities reflected in but not changed by Assembly decisions. Mr. Vishinsky, using picturesque metaphors of wolves and sheep, boa constrictors and rabbits, said explicitly that the Soviet Union would not in such cases yield to the majority vote of the Assembly. The Russian boycott has had the effect of consolidating the small-nation vote on the side of the West. If, as I believe is the case, the Russians still want to influence world opinion through the United Nations forum, they should reflect upon that 43-to-6 vote on the Little Assembly.

BY THE week's end the main issues in the Palestine discussion had become clarified. The majority report of UNSCOP has now been generally accepted as the basis of discussion. The central problem is that of enforcement. Here three lines have emerged—an American, a Russian, and a British.

The Americans, accepting the end of the British mandate, have wanted the British forces to carry the responsibility for law and order until the two new states are constituted. Acknowledging limitations of Assembly authority, they have suggested that an Assembly commission advise—or supervise—the organization of the Arab and Jewish states.

The Russians want the British out at the earliest possible date—April 30, 1948, is set—and propose that during the transition period, which they suggest should last until the end of next year, a small commission directly under the Security Council should supervise the administration of Palestine and carry through the partition plan.

The British, up to the week-end, had said little. But it was fairly clear that they were standing by their original declaration that they would not accept sole responsibility for enforcement of a settlement to which both Arabs and Jews did not agree.

The Canadian delegate, Lester B. Pearson, worked strenuously to bring together these conflicting points of view. He proposed that the British mandate should terminate on January 1, 1948, and that Palestine should then be brought directly under United Nations sovereignty. A High Commissioner for Palestine with the necessary technical assistants should be named by the Assembly but be responsible to the Security Council. The target date for establishing the two states should be set at July 1, 1948. In the meantime the British forces in Palestine should be responsible to the United Nations for the enforcement of law and order until they were replaced by the national militia and constabulary of the two states. They would be withdrawn as quickly as they could be replaced by national forces.

At the week-end the major delegations involved were consulting their governments to discover whether such a proposal was acceptable. One hopeful note was struck in the announcement by Dr. Evatt that he had canceled his sailing to attend the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and would keep the ad hoc committee in constant session until a solution was reached.

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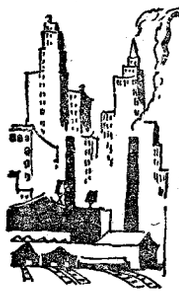

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Up, and Up, and Up!

"WAGES have outrun prices," Senator Taft asserted in a speech at Boston on October 28. The cost-of-living index, he pointed out, has risen 65 per cent since 1939, while the average income of factory workers has jumped 110 per cent and that of all non-agricultural employees 85 per cent. It is this discrepancy, according to the Senator, that is the primary source of inflationary pressures.

As I understand this argument, its implication is that any rise in wages greater than necessary to offset the rise in prices is unjustifiable and dangerous. If that is so, surely other forms of income ought to be measured by the same yardstick. Yet the Senator in this major pronouncement on inflation neglected to mention the tripling of farm income since 1939 or the fact that corporation profits after taxes are running this year at a rate more than four times the 1936-39 average of $3,900,000,000.

This last omission is all the more strange since it has been impossible to open a paper in recent weeks without reading of sensational advances in profits. A survey published by the *Wall Street Journal* on October 31 showed that 149 major concerns in 15 industries had earned $446,147,382 in the 3 months ending September 30. This represented a dip of 0.6 per cent compared with the second quarter of the year—a normal seasonal variation—but a rise of 42 per cent above the third quarter of 1946, which had been an exceptionally profitable period. "Earnings for all 1947 up to the end of last month," the paper reported, "unquestionably added up to the highest ever recorded for such a period."

Here are some group percentage gains over the third quarter of 1946 tabulated by the *Wall Street Journal:*

7 auto and auto equipment companies	127
6 coal companies	63
9 electrical-equipment companies	165
13 petroleum companies	70
10 pulp and paper companies	80

The picture is not entirely uniform. The air lines have gone deeply into the red this year, and food, liquor, department-store, and moving-picture concerns, while still doing quite well, have in general earned less than in 1946. But by and large there are few shadows to dim the brightness of the profits outlook. Nor, judging by the readiness of corporate boards to raise dividends, are present high earnings a mere flash in the pan. When United States Steel, which is notoriously conservative in distributing profits, recently declared its first extra dividend since 1929 and lifted its common stock from a $4 to a $5 annual rate, Chairman Irving S. Olds emphasized the move's significance as an expression of confidence in continued prosperity for the company.

Similar dividend action has been and is being taken by numerous other concerns. Up to October 31, 530 leading companies had increased their rates this year, and many have announced extras in addition. On the other hand, only 70 companies reduced or omitted dividends in the same period. Publicly reported cash dividends in the third quarter, according to the Department of Commerce, were 17 per cent higher in the aggregate than in the third quarter of 1946.

The upward climb of profits, while certainly gratifying to corporations and their stockholders, has also its embarrassing aspects. So much corporate prosperity may be ignored by Senator Taft, but it suggests possibilities of higher wages to trade unions and of lower prices to harassed consumers. To combat such dangerous thoughts, the financial press is plugging the theme that current profits are largely illusory. "True profits," the *Journal of Commerce* asserted editorially on October 28, "are being grossly exaggerated for large numbers of business enterprises by two factors. First, altogether inadequate provision is being made for the cost of replacement of fixed assets. Secondly, higher unit prices which boost the value of year-end inventories temporarily inflate profits." Discussing the first of these factors, the editorial cited the case of a manufacturer with plant and equipment costing $10,000,000 before the war which he now cannot replace for less than twice that sum. "Merely to maintain the integrity of his investment, therefore, he must find $10,000,000 over and above his depreciation reserves."

In practice, however, I note that many corporations—United States Steel, du Pont, and General Motors are examples—are reporting profits *after* making provision for extra depreciation. Moreover, there is no reason to assume that a 100 per cent rise in replacement costs is the general experience: much of the plant and equipment now being installed takes the place of facilities acquired in the twenties when prices were much higher than in 1939 and in some cases nearly as high as today. Finally, new machinery purchased today is not usually identical with that which is being discarded; much of it presumably is a great deal more efficient and more profitable to operate even allowing for greater first costs.

The suggestion that rising inventory valuations create an illusion of profits also bears further analysis. Actually, many corporations have largely eliminated inventory profits and losses by adopting the "Lifo" (last in, first out) system of costing. Others, notably the big retailers, have set aside, before striking profits, large reserves against possible inventory losses. Corporations which have not taken such precautions may be hit by sharp price declines. In that case they will, I prophesy, indignantly deny the unreality of inventory losses, however much they now protest that inventory gains are a mirage.

The more I read alibis for mounting profits, the more respect I have for the candid textile producer who, asked by a *Wall Street Journal* reporter why he didn't cut prices in view of his large earnings, replied: "Demand is so high we'd probably be alone if we were to pioneer a price-cutting drive. And the public wouldn't benefit anyway. Intermediate processors and retailers would grab the profit; they'd mark up our goods to the level of our competitors." The point is that it is useless to abuse individual private enterprisers for profiteering; they cannot help it, for it is inherent in the system.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Reviewers' Choice

ALTHOUGH up to his death a few months ago, C-F Ramuz, the Swiss author, was almost wholly unknown in this country, the recent publication of his novel "When the Mountain Fell" (Pantheon, $2.50) has brought him a large posthumous success: it is a Book-of-the-Month Club selection and is being hailed by the reviewers as a classic and a masterpiece. I do not agree with this judgment; indeed, I find Mr. Ramuz's new book only slightly less tiresome than his previous "The End of All Men," which appeared in English translation in 1945. The acclaim it is receiving must be recognized, I think, as the latest instance of the swing of the critical pendulum from the one extreme of false reality to the other extreme of false spirituality. We should not be surprised at the fact that the same opinion which supposes that the truth of modern life is conveyed in such books as "The Hucksters" or "The Story of Mrs. Murphy" now thinks that the ideality of modern life is conveyed by Mr. Ramuz's pious and banal little fable.

Set in Switzerland, "When the Mountain Fell" tells of a landslide which falls upon the high pastures where a group of peasants graze their cattle each summer. All the group is killed except a young man named Antoine, who manages to tunnel his way back to life. He returns to his village, worn and deranged by his long ordeal; the other peasants think he is a ghost until the priest confronts him with the cross. But terror revives once more among the villagers when Antoine insists upon going back to the mountain to dig for the friend who he imagines still survives there; none of them will accompany him into this haunted territory. Only his pregnant wife, Theresa, has sufficient faith and love to follow her husband. Her devotion restores Antoine to sanity, and he returns home with her.

This is the content of Mr. Ramuz's novel. Its style is the crooning Biblical prose long sanctified as the proper way to write about peasants, idiots, and other of God's innocent children—the kind that swells the heart with virtue while it lulls the mind to rest. In other words, "When the Mountain Fell" is barbiturate literature for what the publishing trade proudly refers to as the discriminating reader. Alongside it our more lurid historical romances are good clean adolescent fact-facing.

The insidious thing, of course, about a book of this sort is that although it is a straight religious document and a profoundly anti-intellectual one, it takes no open theological or anti-rational position; so that even people who might be stopped by a formulated faith are available to its seductions. Its appeal to non-reason is entirely implicit in its nostalgic exaltation of the primitive: there is no paraphernalia of ideas; there are no concessions to the immediate problems of civilized living such as always intrude themselves into the work of our American "spiritual" writers. When one of our domestic myth-makers, a Saroyan or a Steinbeck, for example, goes primitive on us he invariably feels that he must deal with that most primitive of earthly forces, sex. But Mr. Ramuz makes no such mistake; his is the churchly view of man which understands that in order for the divine laws to operate in fullest purity all earthly considerations must be dissolved.

I suppose the most significant aspect of the success that has greeted "When the Mountain Fell" is the way in which it points up the fact that the only alternatives our formers of literary opinion can manage are, on the one hand, a bewildered, formless receptivity to the most debased manifestations of contemporary confusion and, on the other hand, a serene faith momentarily maintained in a world empty of anything but the most elementary moral precepts. In view of their power it is surely small wonder that we suffer such a dearth of any fiction which would try to cope with the modern reality in at least some part of its moral complexities.

It is with genuine reluctance that I report my disappointment in Gladys Schmitt's latest novel. "Alexandra" (Dial, $3), the story of a young woman whose fierce idealism both in love and in art makes life insupportable for her, is certainly not without the qualities that distinguished Miss Schmitt's previous work. Here, as in "David the King," Miss Schmitt is still impelled by a remarkable intensity of affection for human beings; the new book demonstrates, as well, the high standards that guide her in her writing career. But whereas in treating a historical subject a highly emotional author had sufficient distance from her material to permit her characters a free life of their own, in treating a modern subject she lives so close to her characters that inevitably there is a loss of emotional clarity. Subjective and objective intensity of feeling merge—especially since the story is told in the first person. A rather uterine atmosphere pervades the narrative. In high compliment to Miss Schmitt, it can be said that "Alexandra" often suggests the best work of Willa Cather: the resemblance lies not only in the choice of an artistically dedicated heroine but in the very pure handling of the American background. One could wish, then, that Miss Schmitt might have achieved in proper degree the quality that Miss Cather had perhaps in excess—the ability to put some cool space between herself and her passion-driven people.

Elizabeth Taylor's "A View of the Harbour" (Knopf, $3) can be recommended as excellent light reading for an intelligent female audience. If I do not think it is robust enough for the male taste, the reservation is not to be taken as an invidious comment on Miss Taylor's performance: at least in our moments of relaxation let us accept the happy disparity. "A View of the Harbour" sketches the doings, in a single short summer, of the inhabitants of an English seaside town; it is a book of humor and conscience and gentle skill, making no very great demands on the reader but also never falling into either the emotional or stylistic laxity of "easy" fiction. Only the English seem to be able to walk this pleasant literary road. It is, of course, a by-path of the best traditional literature, not to be reached except one has gone the length of the main highway.

DIANA TRILLING

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The Mexican War

REHEARSAL FOR CONFLICT. By Alfred Hoyt Bill. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.

THIS book on the war with Mexico of 1846 to 1848 is aptly titled. It proved indeed a rehearsal in two senses for the much longer and bloodier conflict into which the United States plunged just fifteen years after hostilities opened on the Rio Grande. The majority of the officers who led the Union and Confederate armies served their apprenticeship to war in Mexico. More important, it was this struggle and the bitter domestic controversies engendered by it that fanned the smoldering embers of irrepressible conflict to an unquenchable flame.

Mr. Bill is not one of those historians who regard the Mexican War as the first outbreak of American imperialism. He lays great stress on the scandalous nature of successive Mexican governments and on their brutalities, bad faith, provocations, and outrages. Such accusations are true, but do they offer *moral* justification for the grab of half a continent? Actually an administration of angels in Mexico City would not have been able to check the onward roll of manifest destiny. "Little Jimmy Polk" entered the White House determined to annex California, peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary; and if his expansionist policies outraged many of his countrymen, they had the tacit support of the majority. Mr. Bill complains that critics of the war have not appreciated the fact that "Mexico was paid for the territories she surrendered five-sixths of the sum that had been offered her on the eve of hostilities." But surely the function of conscience money is to atone for sin, not to transform it into virtue.

However, while disagreeing with some of Mr. Bill's interpretations, I am ready to testify that he plays fair in giving the facts which tell against him as well as those which support his thesis. His book is one that deserves to be taken seriously even if it aims at the general reader and is not studded with footnotes. My one criticism in regard to its style is that the first chapter shows signs of being written down to the supposed public taste. It provides an impressionistic picture of Washington in the 1840's, contrasting the city's squalor and magnificence and touching lightly on its scandals, gossip, fashions, frivolities, and feuds. An amusing enough job but of doubtful relevance and done in a manner that has become rather stereotyped.

When Mr. Bill gets away from Washington to the front line, he is much better. In particular his battle scenes are both clear and exciting, and he portrays such leading characters in the drama as Polk, Taylor, Scott, and Santa Ana in the round, omitting neither faults nor virtues. The value of the book is enhanced by a number of excellent pictures and maps and a modest-sized but useful bibliography.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Tour of Europe

CONTINENT IN LIMBO. By Edith Sulkin. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

THE careful reader of the human interest stories from Europe in our daily and periodical press will find nothing new—in approach, content, or conclusions—in this montage of journalistic snapshots from a year's tour of England and Northern and Central

What's behind

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Europe. The not so careful reader will find the book an entertaining means of repairing past omissions at one go, and of furnishing a—slightly dated—background for his appreciation of the Marshall Plan. BJARNE BRAATOY

"A Hurricane of Culture"

CUBAN COUNTERPOINT: TOBACCO AND SUGAR. By Fernando Ortiz. Translated from the Spanish by Harriet de Onís. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

THIS is a very unusual book. It is possible to discuss it as a sociological study, as a historical investigation, as an anthropological treatise, as an economic analysis, and as a literary effort. It is all of these, but it is not the usual monograph; rather it contains choice cullings from the notebooks of its erudite and distinguished author, Dr. Fernando Ortiz, lawyer and diplomat, sociologist and editor.

"Cuban Counterpoint" is a complex study. Or perhaps it would be better to say that it is a study of a complex problem in which the author uses all the social-science disciplines that are generally applied separately. Looking at Cuba, Dr. Ortiz must focus on sugar and tobacco, the two crops basic to its economy. Thus he is led immediately into the strikingly different histories behind each plant, into a consideration of how each plant determined the economic structure of its exploitation. In turn this imperceptibly and inevitably enlarges into an investigation of the superstructures created by tobacco and sugar.

From the anthropological view the book is valuable for its informed analysis of the extraordinary way in which tobacco was integrated into the life of the Indians of the Antilles. Even more important is Dr. Ortiz's employment of the concept of *transculturation*—a word of his own coining—to arrive at an understanding of Cuba today. Transculturation, replacing the older word acculturation, is a sounder concept and expresses the reciprocal give and take that occurs when cultures meet. In Cuba the paleolithic Ciboney had yielded to the neolithic Taino; then with Columbus came "a hurricane of culture: Europe. There arrived together and in mass gunpowder, the horse, the wheel, the sail, the compass, money, wages, writing, the printing-press, books, the master, the King, the Church, the banker . . . various types of economy came in, confused with each other and in transition [feudal economy arrived with mercantile and even industrial capitalism]. . . . With the whites came the Negroes . . . of different regions, races, languages, cultures, classes, ages, sexes, thrown promiscuously together into the slave ships, and socially equalized by the same system of slavery." The savage story of Europe's first beachhead in the New World begins to have realistic content as well as romantic color.

In its own way the book traces Cuba's history from those early desperate years down to the present, not systematically, not chronologically, not completely, and yet, because Dr. Ortiz considers the capricious fortunes of sugar and tobacco, the fragmentary outlines are there: the long period of colonialism, the brief hopeful years of independence before Cuba's economic life came under the control of the United States. History here is but an expression in time of the

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fate of the two crops; the differences—agricultural, social, economic, and international—between the crops is the heart of the book.

With great felicity of style Dr. Ortiz presents his findings and boldly asserts his conclusions, his theories, his counterpoint. Tobacco, native to Cuba, demanded skill and devotion in its growing and processing and supported small, independent farmers who formed a sturdy, independent rural community. Without slaves, without large invested capital, without government aid or favor, Cuban tobacco spread over the world and became, along with tea and coffee—all alkaloids, "solace for the senses and subtle nervous stimulants"—a comfort and a bracer for the common man, while Havana cigars became the mark and pleasure of the gentleman in the capitals of Europe. The goal of the tobacco grower was the *best,* that of the sugar grower the *most.* Sugar, brought to Cuba, enslaved the Indians and, when they soon died out, provided a market for Negro slaves. Favored by and dominating the government, sugar created a class of pampered and imperious planters. As sugar plantations grew in size and the refining process became increasingly mechanized, the planter class was replaced by corporations representing foreign capital. The ramifications of this counterpoint are fear-reaching.

In the economy of Cuba there are also striking contrasts in the cultivation, the processing, and the human connotations of the two products. Tobacco requires delicate care, sugar can look after itself; the one requires continual attention, the other involves seasonal work; intensive versus extensive cultivation; steady work on the part of a few, intermittent jobs for many; the immigration of whites on the one hand, the slave trade on the other; liberty and slavery; skilled and unskilled labor; hand versus arms; men versus machines; delicacy versus brute force. The cultivation of tobacco gave rise to the small holdings; that of sugar brought about the great land grants. In their industrial aspects tobacco belongs to the city, sugar to the country. Commercially the whole world is the market for our tobacco, while our sugar has only a single market. Centripetence and centrifugence. The native versus the foreigner. National sovereignty as against colonial status. The proud cigar band as against the lowly sack.

Since the turn of the century organized capitalism has been successfully invading the tobacco industry, and soon, it would seem, the counterpoint will have ceased to exist. The independence implicit in the pattern evolved by the tobacco culture is disappearing before large-scale capitalism. This change is stated bitterly, but the process is not described; we are merely told that "in the last fifteen years the number of landowning tobacco growers has dropped from 11,200 to 3,000. The landowner . . . is joining the ranks of the proletariat, becoming undernourished, poverty-stricken, preyed upon by intestinal and social parasites. The economic system of tobacco is gradually approaching that typical of the sugar industry, and both are being strangled by heartless foreign and native tentacles." Cuba's problem now becomes one with that of Puerto Rico and our own "factories in the field."

The interested reader who is stimulated by the brilliant musings of a mind stocked by rich and rare reading will find here a perfect guide to many records left by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans who reported with happy excitement all that they saw and were told about tobacco and smoking. For those who cannot be convinced, even by the blindfold test, that there is any difference among the branded cigarettes, this story will be an absorbing excursion into an exotic past.

To the present reviewer, who has long been interested in explorers' accounts, this study has a special appeal. Here is the explorer not as a romantic figure but as an agent of European civilization. We are apt to consider Columbus, for example, in simple, one-dimensional terms—as the daring mariner who sailed farther and discovered more than anyone else of his time. This book shows him as the beginner of transculturative processes, as a man who deliberately took tobacco home to Spain and brought sugar to the New World, transplantings that initiated profound changes which have operated continuously throughout our history.

JEANNETTE MIRSKY

American Fortune

THE MARSHALL FIELDS: A STUDY IN WEALTH. By John Tebbel. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.75.

GREAT fortunes are more often inherited than made in the twentieth century. And as the days of the American robber barons become more remote, it is perhaps natural that they should be treated with increasing tolerance. John Tebbel is not uncritical of his subject, but he is a long way from the muckracking tradition.

As a matter of fact, the first Marshall Field was considerably less of a buccaneer than most of his wealthy contemporaries. In the store which provided the basis of his fortune he pursued a policy of strict honesty as a matter of good business, and his paternalistic treatment of his employees was considered generous in his time. However, he apparently found nothing to be ashamed of in a close financial association with the notorious Charles T. Yerkes, Jr., or the Chicago City Railway Company, of which Field was one of the large stockholders, when the company tried to buy a ninety-nine-year franchise with half a million dollars in bribes.

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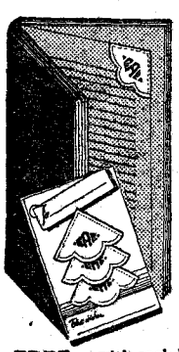

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Tebbel states the facts and says charitably that Field's attitude toward civic virtue was "negative"—there is no evidence that Field himself initiated any shady dealings, but he exerted all the pressure he could to prevent exposés by the Chicago *Daily News*. He was a firm believer in the rights of wealth and the maintenance of the established order.

His grandson, Marshall Field III, is another story, occupying the second half of the book. Most of the space is devoted to reasonably objective histories of *PM* and the Chicago *Sun*. The author emphasizes the fact that the contemporary Marshall Field has strictly lived up to his agreement to keep his hands off the editorial policy of *PM*, while he has steadily assumed more responsibility as publisher of the *Sun*. And the book ends on the optimistic note that the heir to one of America's largest fortunes is now embarked on a useful career in his own right.

This contrast between grandfather and grandson is a significant bit of American history, and Tebbel has recounted the salient facts. The book is well worth reading for these facts. But it fails to live up to its subtitle: "A Study in Wealth." Neither the peculiar moneymaking genius of Marshall Field I nor the social conscience of his heir is satisfactorily explained.

Biographical treatment of a living man necessarily has limitations, especially when he has supplied a good deal of the material, which seems to be the case here. And while the author attaches considerable significance to the fact that Field had two unsuccessful marriages, and was psychoanalyzed, it is scarcely surprising that he reveals nothing about the psychoanalysis which has any bearing on Field's subsequent career. The dissimilarity between the publisher of the *Sun* and his wealthy friends is stated; it is not interpreted as much more than an isolated case.

As a study in wealth, therefore, the book cannot stand comparison with Dreiser's fictionalization of Yerkes in "The Financier" and "The Titan," or with the story of the founder of another Chicago department store in Lester Cohen's "Sweepings." It is, however, a good straightforward account of the careers of two wealthy men.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"THE WINSLOW BOY" (Empire Theater) is based on a *cause célèbre* already well known to those who read the popular literature of courts and crimes. A young adolescent was expelled from a British naval school on the charge that he had forged a fifteen-shilling postal order, and his upper-middle-class father demanded that the case be reopened. When the school authorities refused he got before the House of Commons a demand that the Admiralty consent to be sued. The Admiralty at first refused but was finally compelled by parliamentary pressure and the force of public opinion to yield. In the course of the long fight the father was financially ruined, but in the end the boy, who was almost certainly innocent, won his vindication. The famous British sense of fair play had gained a victory over the equally famous British entanglement in the red tape which intrenched bureaucrats do not want either to cut or untie. The moral, if you hap

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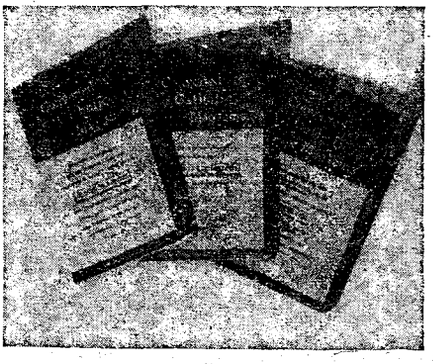

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pen to be a genuine left-winger, is of course that justice in a class society is ruinously expensive when it is not unattainable. Equally obviously, if you happen, like the author of the present play, to be merely a traditional liberal, the moral is, on the contrary, that the concept of fair play provides the basis for an ultimate appeal which the concept of "class justice" will not admit.

No one is likely to maintain that Terence Rattigan's prize-winning play is tremendous drama. Whether or not the individual spectator regards it, nevertheless, as genuinely interesting and rewarding will depend pretty largely on the extent to which he can accept the current English preference for dramatic understatement. Almost any American playwright who had chosen this subject would undoubtedly have attempted to make it "big." Whether he happened to be Communist or liberal, he would have argued all his points with vociferous vigor and would have attempted to keep his audience wrought up to a high pitch of excitement by putting on stage all the climactic moments, including, certainly, the big scene of the parliamentary debate itself. He would probably have considered that he had failed unless he had harrowed our feelings almost unendurably and unless he had proved again to his satisfaction that there is no real paying audience for what he would call "adult" drama. In Mr. Rattigan's play the scene is continuously the pleasant, mildly stuffy Winslow home, presided over by the amiable martinet of a father, a "little man" redeemed from insignificance by his courage and his belief that such a thing as justice does exist. In the first act there is one brief harrowing scene when the frightened boy returns home to confess his disgrace; in the middle of the play there is a thumping theatrical climax when the famous advocate who is deciding whether or not to take the case puts the victim through a cruel, bullying cross-examination and then, when the boy has been reduced to hysteria, turns to the family and says, "Obviously he is innocent." But during most of its running time "The Winslow Boy" is a domestic comedy-drama presenting the home life of a middle-class family passionately concerned over the injustice of which it has happened to be the victim but not quite able to believe that it has become a center of national interest.

Probably no American cast could catch the spirit of the play, and wisely the Theater Guild and its associate sponsors for this particular production have imported an excellent English cast, which includes the attractive ingenue Valerie White; Allan Webb, who, though unspectacular, gives a really notable performance as the father who would be ridiculous if he were not so noble and brave; and Frank Allenby as Sir Robert Morton, the redoubtable courtroom performer. For him Mr. Rattigan has written a part which is an actor's dream. Theatrically it has everything—the grand preliminary buildup, the haughty, commanding presence, the air of cold mastery, the big demonstration of forensic virtuosity, and even, finally, the brief revelation of the good heart hidden beneath the forbidding exterior. For Mr. Allenby, moreover, it must be said that he plays it as such parts ought to be played—up to the hilt. The subdued manner of all the other principal characters, who are, after all, quietly decorous as only middle-class Englishmen and Englishwomen can be, provides him with the perfect contrasting background for Mephistophelian theatricality, and he takes full advantage of it.

Obviously I enjoyed—but without, I think, overestimating it—"The Winslow Boy." Nevertheless, it is all, I suppose, a matter of taste. What makes the play seem to me an example of agreeable underemphasis will certainly make it appear to some more robustious spectator merely tepid, both dramatically and ideologically. Mr. Rattigan's sermon is plainly intended for those of his contemporaries who still have faith in compromise. When one of his characters says something to the effect that all parties believe in justice for the individual, his heroine replies, "No, only some people in all parties."

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE total impression made by the centenary exhibition of Albert Pinkham Ryder's paintings at the Whitney Museum (through November 30) is that of an unrealized vision. The vision itself, had it been more completely precipitated, would have sufficed to establish the artist beyond dispute as the greatest American painter. As it is, taking the evidence of this show into account, I would find it uncomfortable to argue his case against Eakins's and Homer's.

The evidence is unsatisfactory because of its scantness and because of the bad physical condition of many of the canvases themselves. As Lloyd Goodrich explains in a well-written catalogue note, Ryder "strove, half-consciously and without adequate training, for the richness of the old masters. His pictures were built up with underpainting and layer on layer of pigment and glazes. . . . Unfortunately he had little knowledge of traditional techniques, and in trying to secure his effects he used dangerously unsound methods. He painted over pictures when they were still wet, thereby locking the under surface in before it had dried and hardened, so that the different surfaces dried at different rates of speed, causing serious cracking. He used

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strange mediums—wax, candle grease, alcohol; and he made much too free use of varnish. In showing visitors his paintings he would wipe them with a wet cloth or literally pour varnish over them." Among the most unhappy effects of these procedures, aside from cracking, has been the radical obliteration of gradations of value by excessive darkening, so that one color mass merges into another. Given Ryder's fondness for heavy greens, blues, and browns, the result is sometimes altogether disastrous, making it impossible, as in "Moonlit Cove" and "Macbeth and the Witches," to tell what the picture was meant to look like when it left the artist's hand.

Ryder was beyond question one of the most original and affecting painters of his time, whether in Europe or this country. In the task of stating his originality he seems to have had no help at all from his contemporaries. Taking his departure from the academicism that dominated his age—he mentioned Corot and Maris as his favorite painters—he had to cut his art out of the whole cloth and search in isolation for a means to convey the surprisingly new things he had to say. He knew little or nothing of those of his early and late contemporaries—Daumier, Monticelli, and Munch—who in their various ways were exploring some of the same realms of pictorial sensation.

The loneliness of his effort condemned Ryder to aesthetic as well as personal eccentricity. We can understand why he took so long to finish pictures to his own satisfaction: in his endeavor to make concrete the dramatic, visionary nature of his idea he had nothing he could use to guide him at least part of the way—as Cézanne, for instance, had impressionism. He was on his own almost from start to finish. What we miss in his work, as a result of this, is amplitude of realization, pictures that come off conclusively because the painter has created himself a style, with the aid of his time and milieu, secure enough to contain and redeem his inevitable mistakes. The few masterpieces in the present exhibition—"The Forest of Arden," "Moonlight on the Sea," "Sunset Hour," perhaps "Under a Cloud"—seem happy accidents unsupported by sufficient testimony from the pictures surrounding them. It is as if the artist exhausted himself in these rare completely successful pictures and had each time to begin all over again.

Ryder's main impulse was to simplify nature into silhouetted masses of darks and lights; color was a matter of dark and light modulations within these masses. The primary effect is of simple, blocked-out pattern, startling because of the emotion discharged by the novelty of a relatively few shapes, novel in their contours and in their placing. Yet his most successful canvases—I think here of "Moonlight on the Sea" and "The Forest of Arden"—owe more of their final effect to a subtle, rhythmic weaving together of color and value tones. Where the picture did not stand or fall entirely by the placing of three or four large shapes, the artist was able to retrieve his uncertainty and clumsiness by imposing a general, all-inclusive tonal harmony. Here Ryder resorted to more conservative means and renounced in effect such complete correspondence between his vision and its embodiment as he attempted in his more startling but less successful pictures—where he attempted to qualify the solid simplicity of the silhouette by building up a thick, enamel-like surface that by reflected light would intensify the few color tones.

The moral is that one should never go too fast in art. It is the tragedy of Ryder that he attempted to go too far too fast—alone. I say tragedy, because Ryder had, obviously, gifts enough to have made him a major artist in a better place and time. Once again it is necessary to register another casualty of American provincialism.

Ryder left behind a manner rather than a style. This made him a plausible victim of forgers, who could by diluting his invention, in one instance at least, contrive a painting more harmonious than many of his: I mean "A Spanking Breeze," which is included in the present show as an example of a faked Ryder—with a placard underneath, pointing out the "weak drawing," "unpleasant color," and "crude, direct handling." One wonders more than ever whether museum people ever see things with their own eyes. Forgery that it is, "A Spanking Breeze," manages to be a rather good picture precisely because it takes nothing from Ryder except his manner, leaving out the difficult intensity and originality of emotion he could not realize often enough in his own work. While Ryder could not always meet the high terms he set himself, the forger, even though he was only a hack, could meet them when reduced.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ONE of the great events of the year is RCA Victor's recording of excerpts from Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" played by Toscanini and the N. B. C. Symphony and issued both on vinylite (Set V-7; $7) and on shellac records (Set 1160; $4). They comprise the movement with the sections Romeo Alone, Sadness (with one of the great Berlioz sustained melodies, whose unexpected turns and exquisite inflections I have described in the past, about one-third in on side 1), Concert and Ball, Great Festivity at the Capulets'; and the movement with Capulet's Garden and Love Scene (the wonderful intervening section with the singing of the young Capulets is, regrettably, omitted, but the movement is a succession of details that overwhelm one with their intense musical loveliness and poetic expressiveness, including another great melody about 1¼ inches in on side 5). The magical Queen Mab movement is still to be done and will be issued

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separately. The performances are among Toscanini's greatest achievements, and are reproduced on my vinylite copy with spaciousness, brightness, and sharp distinctness, but without the expressive sensuous warmth and sumptuousness of the best present-day orchestral recordings—like the English Decca Ravel "Daphnis and Chloë," or the English Columbia Tchaikovsky Fifth that I will discuss in a moment.

Another of the year's important events is RCA Victor's recording of last year's performance of Bach's B minor Mass by Robert Shaw and his Collegiate Chorale (Sets 1145/6; $19). This is merely a first report on the few sides I have had time to listen to: the *Kyrie, Qui tollis,* and *Cum sancto spiritu.* On these I have noted the rich over-all sonority, its lack, however, of the clarity of texture that the performance had in Hunter College, the occasional blanketing of orchestra by chorus, the harshness of the chorus in fortissimo passages, the excessively fast tempo in which the wonderful *Qui tollis* cannot achieve the effect it has when taken more slowly, and on the other hand the exciting buoyancy of the *Cum sancto spiritu.*

What should be one of the year's great events is Columbia's recording of Mozart's D major Quintet for strings K. 595, played by the Budapest Quartet and Milton Katims (Set 708; $4.60): the work is one of Mozart's greatest; the performance is perfection. But that skill in recording chamber music which Mr. Kolodin has written about has produced one of the worst of Columbia's recordings of the Budapest Quartet—one which, this time, cuts the ear like a knife when played with wide-range equipment, and is otherwise unpleasant on a machine of limited range.

Another disappointment is Columbia's imported recording of Mozart's lovely Quintet for clarinet and strings K. 581, played by Reginald Kell with the Philharmonia Quartet (Set 702; $5.85). I had been told wonders about the Philharmonia Quartet; but in this performance there are no wonders to be heard—only coarse tone, poor integration of individual in group performance, even faulty pitch of the first violin. And Kell's phrasing is filled with fussy nuances and violent inflections that distort his beautiful tone. Nor is the recorded sound good.

The Paganini Quartet, which has recorded Beethoven's three "Razumovsky" Quartets Opus 59 for RCA Victor (Sets 1151/2/3; $6, $5, and $5, respectively), is only a little more than a year old, and can hardly be expected to exhibit the subtle ensemble inflection that creates the exciting animation of texture in the Budapest Quartet's old H. M. V.-Victor performance of Opus 59 No. 3; but it plays with musical intelligence and the necessary dramatic feeling; and the performances would also sound well if it were not for the cellist, who no longer has the beautiful tone he had in the original Pro Arte Quartet, and who also has other technical difficulties that are disturbing. The performances are well reproduced, but surfaces are poor.

A pleasant surprise is Columbia's imported recording of Mozart's Horn Concerto K. 495, the first two movements of which are largely a flow of lovely Mozartian melody beautifully played by Dennis Brain with the Hallé Orchestra (Set X-285; $3.35). The recorded sound is not up to English Columbia's best: it is both sharp on top and heavy down below.

English Columbia's best in orchestral recording is to be heard in the set (701; $8.35) of Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony played by Paul Kletski and the Philharmonia Orchestra. It is a performance in the style that has become traditional—with much change of pace that Tchaikovsky doesn't ask for; but it avoids the excesses in that style that also have become traditional, staying within the limits of good musical taste; and the playing of the orchestra is very fine.

And excellently recorded also is the performance by Sargent and the Liverpool Philharmonic of Benjamin Britten's "The Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra," an ingenious set of variations and concluding fugue on a theme of Purcell (Set 703; $4.60).

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Letters to the Editors

In Justice to James Curry

Dear Sirs: In a letter in your November 1 issue Richard L. Neuberger, in discussing Mr. Ickes and the Alaska Indians, refers to a correspondent by reference to an association with "James Curry, a Washington lawyer . . . who is trying to collect damages for certain Indian tribes" at a 10 per cent rake-off, which could run into "several millions."

Mr. Curry is the unsalaried counsel for the National Congress of American Indians, representing most of the tribes of the United States. He is a former colleague of mine in the American Civil Liberties Union, and a man deeply devoted to the protection of minority rights. Congress has set up an Indian Claims Commission which is taking up to ten years to resolve ancient claims—to be recommended to Congress for possible payment.

Mr. Curry may get 10 per cent of something ten years hence after years of work. If any of your readers know of any other lawyers willing to tackle complicated Indian claims for 10 per cent—even 25 per cent—of a possible collection ten years from now, will they send me their names promptly? We can use a dozen of them.

ROGER BALDWIN, Director,
American Civil Liberties Union
New York, November 4

"The Unity of Europe Is Historic Realism"

Dear Sirs: As an unintentional commentary on the Marshall Plan, or some other such plan with similar intent, the following words of the well-known thinker José Ortega y Gasset should be of general interest at the present time, though they were first published in 1941, long before the Marshall Plan was announced. The quotation is from the widely read book "Toward a Philosophy of History."

I predict—somewhat boldly, in view of present appearances—a possible, a probable, unification of the states of Europe. I do not deny that the United States of Europe is one of the poorest fantasies that have ever existed, and I take no responsibility for what others have handed out under these verbal signs. But I do maintain that it is highly improbable that a society, a collectivity, as ripe as that now formed by the peoples of Europe should not move toward the creation of a state apparatus for the exercise of the European public power which already exists. It is not, then, a weakness for fantasy nor a leaning toward "idealism," which I despise and have fought all my life, that has brought me to this conclusion. It is historic realism that has made it clear to me that the unity of Europe as society is not an "ideal" but a very ancient daily fact, and having seen this fact one cannot but confront the probability of a general European state.

Even more important than this prediction is the concept of "society" upon which Ortega y Gasset based it. This concept the following words will explain in part:

> One of the worst errors of "modern" thought, leaving its stain on us even today, has been to confuse society with association, which is just about its opposite. A society is not brought about by a willed agreement. Inversely, any such agreement presupposes the existence of a society, of people living together under certain customs, and the agreement can only determine one form or another of this coexistence, of this preexisting society. The idea of society as a contractual, and therefore juridical, union is one of the silliest attempts that have ever been made to put the cart before the horse. For law, law the reality—not the idea of law in the minds of philosophers, jurists, or demagogues—is nothing, to use a rather baroque phrase, but the spontaneous secretion of society; it can be nothing else. To expect law to govern the relations between beings not already living in effective society seems to me—if I may be pardoned for my rudeness—to have a somewhat confused and ridiculous idea of law.

Does this concept, in which the Marshall Plan obviously, I think, finds support, at the same time predict, less directly, the inevitable failure of the Western world to live peaceably with the Russians and their satellites? Or is the United Nations organization the beginning of a "spontaneous secretion" that betokens at least the gestation of a world society? That, I should think, is the sixty-four-dollar question.

EWING ANDERSON

Miami, Fla., October 29

A Committee to Aid Convicts

Dear Sirs: Many of the conscientious objectors who served prison terms during the war, especially those who now work for various "liberal" movements and organizations, are frequently called on for help by other prisoners, not C. O.'s, with whom they "did time." Sometimes help is needed by a recently released prisoner who can't find a job or is having difficulty readjusting to "civilian" life, and the C. O. realizes poignantly that he may be the last hope for a man who otherwise will soon be on the skids back to crime and the penitentiary. Sometimes the request is for legal aid in appealing a case for a man now in prison.

At the core of such pleas is the personal, friendly relationship, the fact that any aid given will not be tied up with the frequently humiliating, report- and supervision-ridden type of professional help. The cases are rarely "good" ones involving civil liberties, or workers' rights, or race discrimination, and consequently seldom get aid from the agencies interested in such matters. Here are three recent ones of this sort:

Bob L——. A military prisoner under a long sentence, with a record of juvenile delinquency, from poor home background, twenty-six years old, released a year ago, recently lost job when employer learned of record, child stillborn, wife left him. Bob went on bum, wound up in county jail "drunk and disorderly." Has had financial and other help, but need continues.

Bill M——. Released recently after five and a half years in penitentiary in morals case. Guilt doubtful. Courageous

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Negro, twenty-five, fought Jim Crow through prison; C. O.'s found job for him, advanced money for rent and food.

Bill C——. Convicted at eighteen of bank robbery, sentenced to twenty-five years, has served six years. Recent appeal denied by District Court, denial reversed by Appeals Court. Workers' Defense League attorney believes case has merit. Money needed for legal fees.

The C. O.'s called on for this kind of help have for the most part very limited incomes, and most of them have advanced all the money they can for such purposes. Accordingly, the undersigned have formed a Committee to Aid Convicts and Ex-Convicts and are appealing for contributions to set up a special fund for such emergencies. The money will not be used to help imprisoned C. O.'s or for other "celebrated" cases but exclusively for helpless, friendless men who have got entangled in the cruel net we call justice.

We shall be most grateful if some of your readers are moved to contribute. Gifts should be sent to Alfred Hassler, Treasurer, at 2929 Broadway, New York 25.

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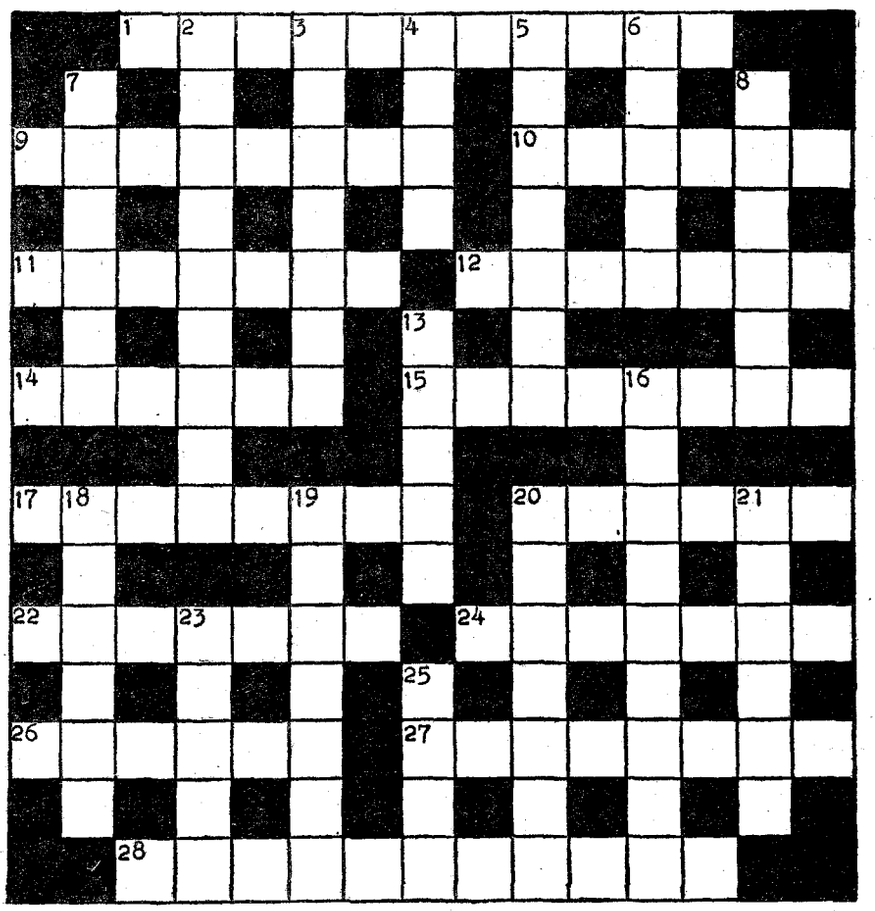
Crossword Puzzle No. 237

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Very closely resembling, and sounds it! (11)
9 Price has taken a turn of the highest order. (8)
10 Cult for "squares." (6)
11 A seaport is large. (7)
12 Lady's maid, or Mrs. David. (7)
14 Express agreement as transmitted. (6)
15 Reissued left-overs. (8)
17 What each ecdysiast tries to do to her rivals? (8)
20 I'd seem never quick in it. (6)
22 Does a secretary take time to take them? (7)
24 Arbage-gay? (7)
26 River-bugs? (6)
27 Composed in the shop-yard? (8)
28 Fleet in Australia. (11)

DOWN

2 Remixes an anagram of explorers. (9)
3 Come into this to find her in it to extremes. (6)
4 Component part of a foot. (4)
5 The nightmare. (7)
6 and 8 The Saturday Evening Post usually is! (2, 3, 2, 4)
7 Not a fake document in short (concerning largess?). (6)
8 See 6.
13 Monkey doctor? Quite the opposite! (5)
16 A cup of coffee is steamed in it. (9)
18 Pure coincidence. (6)
19 Jackets for smoking marijuana? (7)
20 Feeling one gets when not praised. (7)
21 Small business offices, and found in small streets. (6)
23 City of New York. (6)
25. Upward. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 236

ACROSS:—1 BURSTS; 4 BACKROOM; 10 RIDDLES; 11 POLL TAX; 12 BAKED; 13 ICE; 14 SKIMP; 15 RENTS; 17 ANALYZED; 21 HAIRNETS; 23 MOTTO; 26 PAINS; 28 BUS; 29 SWIFT; 30 CUTLASS; 31 IMPULSE; 32 DUCKPINS; 33 PLATES.

DOWN:—1 BERIBERI; 2 REDSKIN; 3 TILED; 5 APPLE; 6 KILTS; 7 OUTLINE; 8 MIXUPS; 9 ASPIRATE; 16 SIR; 18 ASSASSIN; 19 YAM; 20 BOOTLESS; 22 ASIATIC; 24 TRIPLET; 25 SPACED; 27 SHARP; 28 BASIN; 29 SEPAL.

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